

COLORADO COLLEGE LIBRARY
COLORADO SPRINGS, CO.

3 6327 90230 6011

Colorado College Library

02697 C59

Library No. 25673

From Exchange

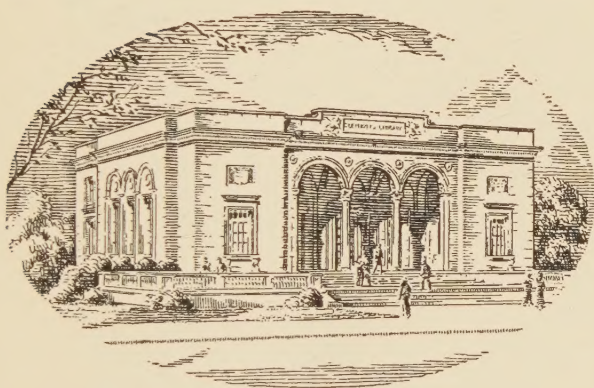
Received Sept. 1924

[illegible]



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2025

THE
WILLIAM L. CLEMENTS
LIBRARY OF AMERICANA
AT THE
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN



ANN ARBOR
PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY
MCMXXIII



COPYRIGHT, 1923
BY UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

PRINTED FOR THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
AT THE HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
CAMBRIDGE, MASS., U. S. A.

026.97

C59

733

.m624

C5

1923

Preface

THE purpose of this book is to give information to those interested in this Library. Within a few pages, it is quite impossible to furnish even a short list of books pertaining to some of the chapters. The writer had contemplated issuing a "Check List" of all the titles in the Library, rather than the synopsis of important books here presented. The proposed list would have placed the book in the range of bibliography, but this plan was abandoned because of the fact that such a list, while giving desirable bibliographical information, would not fulfil other purposes. Consequently, the book may not interest bibliographers; neither will the advanced student of history find in these pages new information. But it is hoped that this work, even if only fairly well done, will interest those who fain would learn of the sources whence came much of what we know about our own country.

The mention of the title of a book means little unless the reader is sufficiently informed to weigh its value and place it in proper relation to others of its kind. In this weighing of values and classification much study is required, and the separation of the important and truthful from the less important compilations is the combined task of the historian and bibliographer. An effort has been made to give

75 673

an opinion of the importance which time has placed upon the productions of the many writers mentioned. The brief narratives of historical happenings, into which the titles of the source books and authorities are interwoven, familiar though such narratives may be, will perhaps lead to new interest and to a desire by the student or reader for further information. Thus it is hoped that, with the books available in the Library, new inquiries may be one result of this publication.

Of the many works mentioned herein, and of many more on the subject to which no attention has been given, I may say that this is my selection; I also have decided opinions about the other books. Selection is a matter of judgment, and it is the hope of the writer that all readers will find herein sufficient information to enable them to reach a conclusion as to what the Library as a whole contains. The material is of source, secondary, compilation, and manuscript kinds, which may serve for more intensive research of the many phases of American History. Let the earnest investigators, and particularly those at the University of Michigan who have exhausted the facilities of the General Library, come and drink of all the knowledge stored upon the shelves of this Library.

Something should be said about the formation of the Library. In Bay City, Michigan, from the year 1867 to 1908, lived Mr. Aaron J. Cooke, a merchant and bibliophile. His feeling of love for his

books and his ever-ready exposition of the significance of the important ones in his library, made him a man of interest to those who were in any way associated with him, and led to strong friendships with other book-lovers.

All collections must have their beginnings, and in 1903 the foundation of this one was made by the purchase of Mr. Cooke's library. It contained about a thousand volumes, mostly well selected histories of the thirteen original states, together with a few books of discovery, using Hakluyt of the year 1600 and the Eden of 1577 as focal books. Many of these volumes were from the library of William Menzies, sold in 1875, and those who know about his books will realize that these acquisitions were sure to be most beautiful and perfect copies. The sale catalogue, the best ever prepared by one of the greatest bibliographers of the time, Joseph Sabin, discloses the fact that Menzies never had an ordinary copy of any book. There was a harmony and method in the formation of the Cooke collection which study revealed, and interest in it was soon strengthened. Under Mr. Cooke's guidance, until his death, the Library was conservatively added to whenever important books were offered in the auction sales or book market.

This rather uneventful accumulative process continued until the spring of 1911, when the first part of the famous library of Robert Hoe was offered at auction in New York, followed shortly after by

the other parts. No library had been sold in America equal to it. Richest in manuscripts, incunabula, and English literature, it also contained many rarities in American History. The sales were events: dealers, collectors, and librarians from Europe and the States were in keen competition for the treasures. The sale realized two millions of dollars — an amount for a private library never before reached either in England or America. From that time book values were placed upon a new plane. The unprecedented sum of fifty thousand dollars was paid for a Gutenberg Bible, and for an early manuscript thirty-five thousand dollars. Most of the Hoe books remain to this day in America, absorbed principally by two collectors. Some were purchased, however, by dealers and other individuals. The result to this Library was the addition of some twenty rare books.

The Library made other important acquisitions simultaneously with the dispersal of the Hoe books. In 1911 and continuing until 1914 the famous English library of Henry Huth was sold in nine instalments, realizing, without the sections privately sold, nearly two hundred and eighty thousand pounds. From this quarter, through private agreement, the collection of the first editions of Hulsius was secured. Altogether, through various channels, the Library added some hundred and fifty Huth titles, all in the perfect condition usual with his books. Of the earlier Americana collectors whose

books found their way to the auction rooms, items from the Brinley, Barlow, Lefferts, Ives, and French libraries were acquired at different times.

The outbreak of the war in 1914, together with the entrance of Mr. Henry E. Huntington into the book market some years earlier, but now more actively as a purchaser of several English libraries *en bloc*, led to a remarkable situation. In rapid succession the Rowfant, Devonshire, Bridgewater, and the first parts of the Britwell or Christie-Miller, libraries were brought to America. Later sections of the Britwell and the major portion of the Burdett-Coutts libraries have found their way across the Atlantic; and although during the last two years but little Americana has appeared, the earlier importations were rich in it. An interesting story might be told of the many auction sales occurring in New York from the year 1915 to 1920, and of the career of George D. Smith, spectacular to the end — the dealer who was given the title of “The Quaritch of America.” The writer attended many of these sales. It would seem that a large proportion of the rare books of England were brought to the United States. The offering at auction or private sale of the many duplicates resulting from the consolidation of these great libraries by one man resulted in an inundation of treasures. No sales approaching them, except the Hoe, had ever taken place in America. It is true that throughout this period high prices prevailed, but certainly there

was the opportunity of acquirement the like of which is not likely to occur again! Dealers, collectors, and librarians were liberal buyers, and the many accessions made by the latter permanently put out of the market their acquired rarities.

These sales were fruitful sources of growth for this Library, both through direct bids or afterwards through dealers. The suppressed offerings of many previous years, at auction and private sales, were concentrated into the period of the war. The Jones, Herman Edgar, Wallace, Benedict, and other less important collections, were sold, and some of their Americana is now on the shelves of this Library. The famous White or "Nugget Sale" also furnished some very rare books.

Largely through the interest of Mr. Bishop and the General Library of the University, the Board of Regents in December, 1922, purchased the celebrated library of the late Henry Vignaud of Paris. The strongest section of it relates to the Discovery Period of American History. By a satisfactory financial agreement, such portions as are desirable will be added to this Library. The Vignaud library is a noted one and I prefer to give Mr. Bishop's description of it:

"The purchase was made with the purpose of adding to his [the William L. Clements] Library those portions which supplement that collection, the remainder going to the General University Library. This purchase was effected through the well-

known firm of Edouard Champion of Paris, in fulfilment of Mr. Vignaud's wish that his library should be placed in some American university where it would serve to advance the cause of American historical studies.

“Mr. Vignaud made no catalogue of his library, which numbered roughly about seventeen thousand volumes, over twenty-five thousand pamphlets, and nearly three thousand maps. It is impossible therefore to describe his books in detail until they are arranged and catalogued. In general it may be said that the part devoted to American History is about two thirds of the library. There are perhaps about a thousand volumes which may properly be described as source material. The rest is a mass of critical studies of a later date, ranging from very ordinary books to very uncommon books and brochures on obscure phases of the period of discovery and exploration of the American continent. They will supplement in a very unexpected and unusual fashion the library of sources which Mr. Clements has gathered.

“Mr. Vignaud's interest (as shown in his writings and in his library) appears to have been most keenly directed toward the history of geographical discovery. In writing his various books on Columbus and the discovery period he gathered a mass of minor writings — and many of great moment. His books caused a host of writers to send him their publications. His library, then, gives exactly that critical apparatus which is essential to scholarly

study of the sources both printed and manuscript. Moreover, he gathered assiduously the classical and medieval authorities in geography and cosmography, many early atlases, and the records of voyages before and after Columbus. His books are chiefly in Latin, French, Italian, and Spanish. They form, therefore, a most welcome and in many respects a very unusual addition to the resources in the early period of American History."

While in France during 1921, I received information of the forthcoming sale of the Shelburne Papers, which later led to their acquirement. No attempt at a calendar of them has been made, except the one prepared for the English Historical Manuscripts Commission. This will be one of the first tasks for the Custodian of the Library.

Unusual interest and generosity has been manifested by the descendants of the illustrious Shelburne, the family of the present, fifth, Lord Lansdowne, and by Lord Fitzmaurice, the author of the 'Life of Shelburne.' That these papers are to be preserved as a collection was to them welcome information. They have presented the Library with a painting of the Earl of Shelburne, the first Lord Lansdowne, whose papers we have. This was the work of Jean Laurent Mosnier, a French portrait painter of repute. The portrait was painted in 1790, when Shelburne was fifty-five years of age. The portrait by Reynolds, painted earlier in life, is in Lansdowne House, Berkeley Square, London.

Through some twenty years, my friend and adviser, Mr. Lathrop C. Harper of New York, has been of great assistance, during the period of the sale of the famous libraries already mentioned. His good judgment of the scholarly importance of books and of pecuniary values as well, has been given me unsparingly, and in an unselfish way. Fully a third of the Library has passed through his hands. The first important purchase after the Cooke accession was when I acquired through Mr. Harper the greater part of the collection formed by Newbold Edgar of Brooklyn, and he helped me to get many books from the Crane library, dispersed in 1913.

To Mr. Henry N. Stevens of London I am also indebted for much good advice. He is responsible for the formation of one of my sets of De Bry. Possibly of greater use, however, for students of later American history, is his collection of pamphlets on the Revolution, some twenty-two hundred in number, which were purchased in 1920. Of great merit, too, is the Stevens Collection of Maps of the Revolution, acquired in 1921. The Shelburne Papers also were purchased by him at Sothebys in 1921.

For valuable advice from the standpoint of the librarian, I am indebted to Mr. William W. Bishop of the General University Library. He has the true spirit for the conservation of rare books.

Professor Claude H. Van Tyne has made many valuable suggestions concerning the work which the Library can do in connection with the Department of History at the University.

And now a most important and personal acknowledgment must be made. A friend of some ten years, whom I first visited at the John Carter Brown Library at Providence, and later in the Widener room at the Harvard College Library, is George Parker Winship. He was given all the qualities of a great American collector, with the keenest sense of the historical and æsthetic worth of rare books. His advice has always been sought and given, and naturally I turned to him for a review, criticism, addition, or elimination, of the text of this synopsis, which work he has performed. He has been of immeasurable assistance to me, and in addition he has supervised the work of printing.

In conclusion, it must be noted for a proper understanding of the contents of this Library that all titles mentioned *with the date and place of publication* are on the shelves. Unless specifically stated as 'in the Library,' other titles given without date, or without place of publication, are not part of the collection, but are mentioned as necessary for the continuity of the narrative.

WILLIAM L. CLEMENTS

BAY CITY, MICHIGAN
May, 1923

Contents

I. THE SPIRIT OF DISCOVERY AND CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS	3
II. VESPUCCIUS AND THE EARLY HISTORIANS . . .	17
III. SPANISH CONQUISTADORES AND PADRES	28
IV. ENGLISH AND FRENCH VOYAGERS	44
V. THE COLLECTIONS OF VOYAGES	64
VI. THE FRENCH IN NORTH AMERICA	76
VII. VIRGINIA	92
VIII. THE PILGRIMS AND PLYMOUTH IN NEW ENGLAND	108
IX. THE COLONY OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY AND ITS OFFSHOOTS	116
X. NEW ENGLAND RELIGIOUS MATTERS	127
XI. NATIVE NEW ENGLANDERS	141
XII. THE MIDDLE COLONIES	153
XIII. THE SOUTHERN COLONIES	170
XIV. THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WARS	177
XV. THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION	191
XVI. PAMPHLETEERS OF THE REVOLUTION	204
XVII. NEWSPAPERS AND BROADSIDES, BY WILLIAM WARNER BISHOP	220

WILLIAM L. CLEMENTS LIBRARY
OF AMERICANA

Chapter I

THE SPIRIT OF DISCOVERY AND CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS

A MUTINOUS sailor on the lookout of a Spanish caravel, on October 12th, 1492, announced the appearance of land, which proved to be a New World. His little ship was one of four commanded by a persistent believer in new ideas about geography, whose confidence in these ideas made him the first to demonstrate their truth. The condition of learning and the spirit of the European world at that time, the factors which prepared the way for this momentous event, — the Discovery of America by Columbus, — the greatest event in history since the birth of the Christian religion, are subjects proper for intensive consideration by all who wish to understand the development of civilization.

The causes which led to the most fruitful of all voyages of discovery make a long and interesting story. They involve the study of the history of human progress during the two centuries which witnessed the transformation of the mediæval into a modern world, the renaissance not of learning alone but of all human relations. The event itself is intimately involved with all the important cosmographical and geographical theories, indeed with

everything in the nature of scientific inquiry during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. All these seem to lead toward that final outburst of belief, of which belief Columbus was a worthy, persistent, and practical advocate. Clearly there is every reason why all possible inquiries should continue to be made about this man, the navigator who courageously commanded the expedition with unshaken faith in his geographical ideas, and who, by establishing their truth in fact instead of in theory, made his name one of the greatest in all human history. By him, and by those who followed the way he led, the science of geography was completely reorganized, a New World was added to our sphere. Their achievements constitute the first chapter — not based on speculative opinions — of the history of half the globe.

Every detail of the life of Columbus, so far as we can learn it, is of importance, for he was the most successful exponent of the latest geographical and scientific theories of his time. His earliest biographer — his son Ferdinand, whose *'Vita de suo padre,'* was printed at Venice in 1571 — tells us that he corresponded with Paolo Toscanelli, reputed to be the leading geographer and cartographer of the time. He not only owned and studied the narrative of Marco Polo, but the copy of the *'Imago Mundi'* written by Pierre d'Ailly in which the Discoverer made marginal annotations still exists in the library collected by his son, which is pre-

served to this day at Seville. The charts he studied, the books which are reputed to have influenced him in forming his opinions, as well as everything that concerns the geographers and cosmographers, the mathematicians and travellers of the fifteenth century, necessarily interest those who undertake to investigate this period of American Discovery. Their manuscript charts and their printed works are the beginnings of "Americana."

Many are the detractors of Columbus's greatness. That he was bigoted, at times unbearable to live with, stubborn to his later associates, all seem certain. That he imagined himself toward the end of his long life the chosen of the Lord to administer His wishes on earth, is a sign of a mind that became unbalanced. But if patience, steadfastness of purpose, firm belief in carefully considered convictions, are attributes of greatness, then Columbus was great. I prefer to think of Columbus as the young man struggling with a great idea. In documents that have been dated not later than 1470, he seems to have stated his belief that the earth was round. For twenty-two years he held to this belief unshaken, and persisted in his determination to prove that it was true. Until his death in 1506, and even to-day, he was and he is the first figure in American history.

'Modern' geography has been traced back to the ideas propounded in the writings of Aristotle, who died 322 B.C., and of Strabo, who wrote of his trav-

els in the countries bordering on the Balkan Mediterranean at the beginning of the Christian era. Claudius Ptolemy, or Ptolemæus, who wrote his epochal treatise on geography a hundred and fifty years after the birth of Christ, retained for nearly fourteen hundred years his place as the acknowledged authority on this subject. The publication of the writings of these three great scientific authorities, which had been handed down through the centuries in manuscript copies, was a potent factor in the revival of interest in geographical subjects. Marco Polo, the greatest of the mediæval travellers, wrote an account of his experiences in Persia, China, and the other Asiatic countries that he visited, which not only led to an increased inquiry into geographical matters but also had great influence in opening up trade between Europe and the East. Columbus owned a copy of his narrative, and was stimulated by it to persist in carrying out his ideas. The Library has an edition of the Italian text 'de la meravegliose cose del mondo,' printed at Venice in 1496.

Caius Julius Solinus was another author of the early mediæval period whose writings were circulated widely after the invention of printing, and who continued to enjoy an authoritative popularity for several decades following the extension of the geographical horizon to include the Western hemisphere. His description of the then known world entitled 'Collectanea rerum memorabilium,' was

revised in the sixth Christian century. Under the briefer title of 'Polyhistor' it circulated widely during the ensuing centuries in the form of manuscript copies. The Library contains one of these, a magnificent copy on vellum, written by a professional scribe in northern Italy some time before the invention of printing. First printed in 1473 by Nicholas Jenson, it was reissued at least twelve times before the end of that century. Of the three editions in the Library the most significant is that which appeared at Vienna in 1520, because some copies of this edition contain a map, long thought to be the earliest with the name "America," which was the first cartographical publication of Peter Apian. Even as late as 1587, the 'Polyhistor' was a work of interest, for in that year the first English translation was published in London, reappearing in later editions, and under the title: 'The excellent and pleasant work of Julius Solinus Polyhistor.' The Library's copy is in its original vellum.

The name of Solinus was intimately associated with that of Pomponius Mela, the author of the earliest geographical treatise in classical Latin, who flourished during the first Christian century. His 'Cosmographia,' or 'De situ orbis,' was issued at least ten times during the fifteenth century. The edition printed by Erhard Ratdolt at Venice in 1482 is famous both for its decorative initial letters and as one of the earliest examples of printing in more than two colors, as well as because it was the first

edition of this work to contain a map. The scientific importance of Mela's work is such that it has frequently been used as the basis for collections of early geographical treatises. The Library has also three other editions: Paris, 1513; Venice, 1518; and Eton, 1761.

Of Ptolemy's 'Cosmographia' or Universal Geography some fifty different issues are described in the bibliographical accounts of the work by Justin Winsor, Wilberforce Eames, and Henry N. Stevens. They date from the first printed edition of 1475 to that of 1761; in 1867 a facsimile of the Mount Athos manuscript was issued, but this is more properly considered in connection with the manuscript copies, of which a number have come down to modern times from before the age of printing. No other work compares in importance with this for the study of the science of geography and its evolution from ancient theories and incorrect deductions into a sound foundation for what is at present held to be the true relationship of different features on the earth's surface. The earlier editions contain twenty-seven maps, which are of the highest importance because they show exactly what must have been the prevailing opinion concerning the various parts of the world as it was known to Europeans on the eve of the new era of discovery.

The most important of the editions of Ptolemy is the one printed at Strassburg with the date 1513, containing forty-seven woodcut maps. Of these,

twenty-seven repeat the ancient representations, and the remaining twenty show what were then the most up-to-date ideas about geographical matters. These modern maps include one of the whole known world, entitled, "*Orbis typus universalis*," and also a "*Tabula Terre Nove*." The latter is copied from one of the earliest maps that showed the new western discoveries. It has often been called "*The Admiral's Map*," from the belief that it was taken from a map drawn by Columbus. The copy of this edition in the Library is in its contemporary binding of oak boards and pigskin. Other editions were printed at Venice in 1511; Strassburg in 1520 and 1525; and Venice in 1548. Closely allied to the Ptolemy series is the exceedingly rare '*Introductio in Ptholomei*' by Joannes Stobnicza, printed at Cracow in Poland in 1512.

Peter Apian, or Apianus, represents the early efforts to disseminate knowledge of the new conceptions of scientific geography, as completely as Ptolemy stands for the ideas which were supplanted. For half a century the works of the writers mentioned in the preceding paragraphs continued to be published, often with elaborate annotations by the leading professors of geographical learning, side by side with those of Apian and his fellow students of the new school which was destined to relegate the others to the limbo of antiquated scholarship.

A writer who should be consulted by those who wish to understand the slow spreading of popular

comprehension of what the seafarers were accomplishing for terrestrial geography, is Benedetto Bordoni, whose 'Libro nel qual si ragiona da tutte l'Isole de Mondo' first came out at Venice in 1528. This work held its place until after the middle of the century, as a standard handbook for those who clung to the facts as they knew them in youth, and yet realized that there was a New World and a vast quantity of new facts, many of which must be true.

Nothing illustrates the difficulties which confronted well-informed readers of the early sixteenth century, who wanted to keep up with the times and yet felt confident that everything old could not be false, or everything new, true, better than a little book which was printed at Venice in 1558, entitled 'De I Commentarii del Viaggio in Persia di M. Caterino Zeno. Et dello scoprimento dell Isole Frislanda, Eslanda, Engrouelanda, Estotilanda, Icaria, fatto sotto il Polo Artico, da due fratelli Zeni.' It was published by Nicolo Zeno the younger, and contains the narrative of the travels of two brothers of his name, who appear to have visited Iceland and Greenland in 1380. There is no reason why well-to-do and adventurous Venetians may not have made such a trip at that date, but the published narrative has been the subject for controversy at intervals ever since it first appeared in print. Of late years the discussions concern chiefly the map which was issued with the volume of 1558. The trouble with

most of the controversialists is that they are unable to comprehend, or unwilling to admit, that editorial and critical standards are, and ought to be, different in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries from those that were equally creditable three or four hundred years earlier. The original publication, and the books about it by Richard H. Major of the British Museum in the Hakluyt Society series, by Baron Nordenskjöld, by F. W. Lucas, and other writers on the subject, make an interesting little group, which may profitably be studied by those who wish to learn how and why historical controversies run their course.

Great events in the world's history had occurred. Vasco da Gama rounded the Cape of Good Hope in 1498; the limits of Africa were outlined from the west as well as from the east; India was reached by water; Columbus and Vespuccius and at least a score of other voyagers established the fact that a continent of unknown extent lay in the way of reaching Cathay by sailing westward. All the theories of cosmographers as to terrestrial length and breadth, as to continents, seas and islands, were upset. In 1522 the survivors of Magellan's fleet — a single ship manned by eighteen men — returned to Spain with the story of how they had found a passageway through the Western continent into the South Sea; of crossing that vast ocean and finding countless islands in its further expanse, through which they made their way until at last they came

to India and the ports already reached by Europeans who had come from the opposite direction. Freed from uncertainty, the first circumnavigators continued their westward course to Africa, rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and brought the *Victoria* safely home to Spain — an event not to be equalled in its influence upon the popular imagination until, not quite four hundred years later, the Atlantic was crossed through the air.

The first printed account of Magellan's voyage around the world is given in Maximilianus's 'De Moluccis Insulis,' Cologne, 1523, a source book of considerable historical value. It was written by the secretary of Charles V and addressed to the Archbishop of Salzburg. Henry Stevens, in his 'Johann Schöner,' London, 1888, reproduces this book in facsimile and gives an English translation. Antonio Pigafetta, who accompanied Magellan, wrote a journal of the same voyage, of which Jacques Antoine Faber published an abridgment in 1525, the original having been lost.

These were startling events, of such import as to give great opportunity for a substantial beginning in the new science of modern geography, and Peter Apian was equal to the occasion. Ptolemy and Mela and the others, whose writings for more than twelve hundred years had been the accepted compendium of cosmographical knowledge, became the relics of an absurd antiquity. Their place was taken by the textbooks of Apian, to which the stu-

dent can still go and find them sound in the essentials of theory and of fundamental facts.

The Library possesses two of Apian's publications which are not recorded as being in any other American collection. One of these, which is not mentioned by Winsor or by any other American bibliographer, is his 'Isagoge,' dated at Landzhut in 1512, and his earliest printed work. Concerning this book, Henry N. Stevens of London, after making a careful study of it, wrote: "I expected to find, as suggested by Nordenskjöld, that it contained a description of the well-known Apianus map, 'Tipus Orbis Universalis' of 1520 as found in the Solinus 'Polyhistor' of that year. But on a careful study of the 'Isagoge' I find it describes an entirely different map, which so far as I can ascertain still remains unknown. . . . There is a long reference to the unknown map described in it. I have never met before with a copy of this rare and important book; there is no copy in the British Museum and Van Ortroy (in his excellent bibliography of the works of Apianus), whilst referring to copies preserved in libraries at Berlin, Munich, Paris, Rome, and Vienna, was apparently unable to locate one in an English or American library."

The other work of Apianus not known to be in any other American collection is his 'Astronomicum Caesareum,' printed at Ingolstadt in 1540. It is a large folio, bound in contemporary vellum, with many volvetts and colored diagrams. Its impor-

tance may be gathered from the following note transcribed from the copy in the library of the Royal Astronomical Society:

The principal intention of this celebrated work was to exhibit the positions of the celestial bodies by a series of movable planispheres, as an easier method than by the then tedious operation of tabular numbers and calculations. But the part of the volume the most interesting to astronomers of the present day, is that containing the observations and diagrams of the five comets which were seen in the years 1531, 1532, 1533, 1538, and 1539. From Apian's remarks on these it appears that he was the first astronomer who concluded that the Tails of Comets were always projected in an opposite direction to the Sun. The Comet of the year 1531, the first of the five here mentioned, and upon which Apian has been most particular in describing its appearance and situation, is the celebrated Comet of Halley. The present year 1835 is made memorable as the Epoch of the fourth return of this wonderful phenomenon since the time of its being observed by Apian; an interval of three hundred years having elapsed since this valuable record was made by him. From the Observations stated in this volume, and the subsequent returns of the Comet in 1607 and 1682 Halley was enabled to identify its orbit, to determine its theory, and thence its future visitations.

The works of Apian are significant because they established in the minds of contemporary scholars, of professors and students at the Continental universities, and of individuals who were in touch with academic circles, the scientific conceptions based upon what was actually happening in the world of discovery. These same contemporary events were

made known to the wider circle of general readers by books of a more popular character. The most famous of these, as well as one of the very earliest, is the bulky 'Nuremberg Chronicle,' a history of the world compiled by Hartmann Schedel, a physician of that town. It was issued in 1493 by Anton Koberger, a founder of the long line of great German publishers. The surviving account books show that he placed the volume on sale in nearly every important European city, and that it was still on the market twenty years after its first appearance. The statements it contains referring to the discoveries of Martin Behaim are untrue, but they serve both to show the form in which the great news had reached the Rhine Valley in the year of the return of Columbus, and also how this news was spread abroad. Another book, the best-seller of the last fifteenth-century decade, was Sebastian Brant's 'Ship of Fools,' Strassburg, 1497, from which probably even more people got their earliest notion of the trans-Atlantic discovery. Thirty-four editions of this work were issued, in Latin, German, French, English, and Spanish, between 1494 and 1500.

Fewer people, but nevertheless a considerable number, read the news of what Columbus had done in what is still its most authentic form. This is the letter written by the discoverer to his friend the Royal Treasurer at the Spanish court. The Spanish text was printed at least twice, by Barcelona printers, almost immediately after it reached the court.

Each is now known by only a single copy; one, in small quarto, is preserved at the Ambrosian library in Milan, and the other, a two-leaf folio equivalent to the newspaper extra of later days, is the cornerstone of the Americana collection associated with the name of James Lenox and now a part of the New York Public Library.

A Latin version of the Columbus letter reached Rome within a few weeks, and the two leading printers of the city, Stephan Plannck and Eucharius Silber, issued three editions — the former two and the latter one — before the public interest subsided. Within the year it had been reprinted at Antwerp, at Basle, and thrice at Paris. There were likewise three editions of an Italian version in the same first year, and two in 1495. The Library's copy of one of the Latin editions from the press of Plannck is typical of the appearance of all the others. It came from the library collected by Henry Huth, a London merchant with large interests in Spanish commerce. The text fills seven of the eight pages, printed in a small gothic or "black-letter" character, there being thirty-three lines to the page.

With this letter, in which Christopher Columbus describes briefly his voyage, the islands he had discovered, and the people he found inhabiting them, American History begins.

Chapter II

VESPUCCIUS AND THE EARLY HISTORIANS

THE five years following the discovery of America were fruitful ones in extending the horizon of human knowledge. Columbus, — denied the happy fate of death at the zenith of achievement, — Vespuccius, Magellan, Balboa, and scores of other masters of ships and of men, sailed in all directions, pushing their way into unheard-of corners of the earth, settling some questions of geography, and raising more new ones for their successors to solve. A new era, earlier begun, was in full progress.

Columbus died a sorely disappointed man. The jealousy and the avarice of his associates and rivals, the ingratitude of his sovereigns, the limitations of his own capacities — human nature working as it always has — prevented his enjoying the reward he expected for the service he had rendered to Spain and to Europe. Unlike Washington, the other great figure in the annals of the New World, he was not destined to have adequate reward during his lifetime.

The next brightest light in the firmament of the early voyagers was Amerigo Vespucci or Americus Vespuccius, of all men perhaps the greatest favorite of Fame. No one can say that Vespuccius was not

a successful voyager, who did whatever was expected of him as well as it could be done. Above all else, he wrote satisfactory reports concerning what he did and saw. One of these reports, or letters, was so good that it was printed and reprinted many times, and attracted the attention of those who were following the course of events in distant parts. A copy of the little tract, containing an authentic account of what Vespuccius had observed on the voyage which may have been actually the first to touch on American continental soil, came to the attention of a teacher of geography at the academy at St. Dié. At this little town in the Vosges mountains there had gathered in those earliest sixteenth-century years a small group of humanists, students keenly interested in everything that is nowadays associated with the revival of learning, the Renaissance of human interest in whatever makes for culture. The geographer of the group, Martin Waldseemüller, who latinized his name into Hylacomylus, was engaged in editing a new edition of Ptolemy's 'Cosmographia,' as well as in preparing a wall map which should show the latest additions to the known extent of the world. To accompany this map, so that purchasers might better understand its many new features, he printed a small textbook with the explanatory title 'Cosmographiæ Introductio.' In this, he inserted a sentence of extraordinary consequence: "But now that these parts have been more extensively examined, and an-

other fourth part has been discovered by Americus Vespuccius, I do not see why we should rightly refuse to name it America, to wit the land of Amerigen or America, after its discoverer Americus, a man of sagacious mind, since both Europa and Asia took their names from women" — *Americam dicendam: cum et Europa et Asia a mulieribus sua sortita sint nomina.*

America was christened by one whom we may describe as a secondary schoolmaster in a remote mountain town. His little 'Introduction to Geography' had an immediate success, for it was printed three times during the year of its first appearance. Another proof is the fact that its suggestion of the fitting name for the New World — put out at a moment when the European mind was bewildered by the vast amount of newness that was being added to the world with each recurring navigating season — took so firm a hold on his contemporaries that it is still unshaken.

The wall map of Waldseemüller likewise carried this name, "America," on the continental shoulder of South America which we now know as Brazil, and helped powerfully to fix it indelibly in the European mind. A single copy of the map is known to have survived to modern times, preserved at Wolfegg Castle in Germany, where it lay hidden until the year 1901. Of the 'Introductio' the Library contains the editions dated St. Dié, September, 1507, and Strassburg, 1509. There are two copies

of the latter, one from the Huth library and the other an interesting copy in contemporary binding decorated with the emblems of King Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon. It was probably presented to some school library by the order of King Henry, as was his custom.

It is a curious commentary on the element of chance that entered into the naming of nearly half the globe, that the person who proposed the name apparently realized almost immediately that he had done a terrible injustice to the man who was entitled to the honor of having his name perpetuated in this way. The edition of Ptolemy's *Geography* upon which Waldseemüller was at work before 1507 did not come out until 1513, at Strassburg. As was explained in a previous paragraph, it contains the famous "Admiral's Map," and on this map, in the place where the editor six years before had put the name "America," is a statement that the honor of discovering the New World properly belongs to Christopher Columbus. There are to-day many Columbias, and many writers have bewailed the injustice of the Continental name which so disproportionately emblazons the lesser exploits of Americus Vespuccius; but the apparently harmless little tract, written by the schoolmaster with the best of intentions and only slightly incomplete information, had done its work for all time.

In contrast to the everlasting influence of the misinformed pedagogue is the virtual oblivion which

is the fate of many much more reliable works, such as Martin Fernandez de Enciso's '*Suma de Geographia*,' printed at Seville in 1519. The author of this important work was an experienced navigator who had voyaged widely. His description of America was founded largely upon his personal observations or on the reports of men whose reliability he could test by intimate acquaintance with them, during his frequent voyages across the Atlantic and his residence in San Domingo.

The marvellous tales of Marco Polo and of Sir John Mandeville, equally surpassing belief, and the contemporary narratives of Bernard von Breydenbach, of Christopher Columbus, and Amerigo Vespucci, whetted the appetite of European readers for tales of travel. Almost the earliest enterprising editors and publishers who saw the chance to cater to this demand by providing a volume of collected narratives of foreign travel were Master Henrico Vicentino and his son Zamaria, who issued at Vicenza in Italy, in the same year that the St. Dié '*Cosmographia*' was appearing on the other side of the Alps, a volume entitled '*Paesi novamente ritrovati*.' Herein are gathered the narratives of the voyages of Cadamosto, Vasco da Gama, Cabral, Columbus, Pinzon, Corte Real, Vespuccius, and documents relating to the exploration of the East Indies. This work had a widespread influence by enabling the public to realize the extent to which these successive voyagers had enlarged the limits of

the known world, and by giving the readers trustworthy notions of what all these newly discovered regions were like. The first edition, now of the utmost rarity, was succeeded by many later ones, so that this work became one of the most important foundations upon which was built the structure of general information. The Library's copy of the first issue of the first edition is the Beckford copy, long preserved at Hamilton Palace, whence it passed into the hands of Bernard Quaritch in 1882. There are likewise in the Library the later editions dated 1508 and 1521.

The first historian of America was Peter Martyr, or Pietro Martire Anghiera. He knew Columbus, Vespuccius, and many of their contemporaries, and later investigators have found him a truthful recorder and intelligent commentator on events. He was a member of the Council of the Indies, the official committee of the Spanish Government which administered the overseas domain for the Spanish crown. This position gave him an unequalled opportunity for securing intimate, first-hand knowledge of what was actually accomplished and of who deserved the credit for achievements. By his contemporaries he was highly regarded, and time has strengthened that confidence in the essential truth of his narrative. He called his book, which was chronologically arranged, the 'Decades.' In this he recapitulated his interviews and the correspondence he had had with the actual actors in the events of

those momentous years. To possess on the shelves of this Library, if possible, all the writings of Peter Martyr, in their successive editions, has been an ambition steadily held, and very nearly consummated, during the years that it has accumulated. There is no other author whose works are more essential to a knowledge of the beginnings of New World history.

The earliest edition of the First Decade, containing the first nine books or sections, was published at Seville in 1511. The '*Legatio babylonica*,' which is an important portion of this volume, is an account of Martyr's diplomatic mission to Egypt. The copy in the Library is in what is probably its original binding, on the sides of which are the arms of the Marquis de Fromista-y-Caracena. This Decade was reprinted at Alcala in 1516, with the addition of the Second and Third Decades, in a volume entitled '*De Orbe Novo Decades*,' which is said to be even scarcer than that of 1511. It was published at the instance of Pope Leo X. The Library's copy came from the same old library as the first edition, and contains the account of the Egyptian mission, which was not issued with all copies. Another edition of the Decades appeared at Basle in 1533. This is in the original vellum covers, bound up with another Basle work issued a year earlier, the '*Novus Orbis*' compiled by John Huttich and Simon Grynaeus, which contains the important and interesting map prepared by these two authorities on New World annals, in its earliest state.

In 1521 appeared at Basle 'De Nuper sub D. Carolo repertis Insulis, simulque incolarum moribus, R. Pètri Martyris, Enchiridion.' This account of the newest additions to the empire of Charles the Fifth is of exceptional importance, because it contains the earliest account of the exploits of Hernan Cortes in Mexico.

Martyr's work was completed in eight Decades, which first appeared together in an edition at Alcalá, 1530. The whole work was reprinted at Paris in the year 1587, 'diligenti temporum observatione, et utilissimis annotationibus illustratæ, suoque nitori restitutæ, Labore et industria Richardi Hakluyti Oxoniensis Angli.' Herein we meet for the first but not the last time the greatest of English students of exploration. Not only is this the best edition of Martyr, but it is illustrated by a beautiful little map engraved on copper under Hakluyt's supervision. This map is one of the landmarks in the annals of geographical exploration. Despite its small scale it is the best representation of just what was known to well-informed Europeans at that time. The copy in the Library came from the collection of perhaps the greatest of Hakluyt's successors, who wrote on the fly-leaf, "Henry Harrisse: with the rarissima map! The choicest collections of Americana: Huth, Brinley, Carter Brown, etc., do not possess it."

The Latin editions of Martyr's 'De Orbe Novo' quickly found their way into the hands of learned readers throughout Europe. But the transforma-

tion of the mediæval into the modern world was already well on its way, and there was even at that early date a very considerable reading public that wanted its books in the vernacular tongues. A translation into French of Martyr's second and third Decades, with the 'De Insulis,' was published at Paris in 1532, with the title 'Extrait ou Recueil des Isles nouvellement trouvees.' This earliest French collection of voyages is from the famous press of Simon de Colines, the patron of the greatest of book-decorators, Geofroy Tory. Two years later an Italian translation appeared at Venice, including a portion of Oviedo's work as well as an abridgment of the Decades.

Hakluyt's edition of Martyr was a deserved tribute to the author to whom not only the editor but his fellow countrymen were chiefly indebted for their knowledge of, and their interest in, the newly discovered world. For half a century this knowledge and interest had not spread beyond a narrow circle of English readers of imported books, whose neighbors gave no sign that they either knew or cared about any of these things which were familiar in every Continental centre. The greatest of all peoples were yet to be aroused by the spirit of adventure, inspired by the thirst for facts about strange lands. The awakening of these dormant interests was directly due to the first English translation of Peter Martyr.

Edward Arber, to-day the Nestor of those who

have labored to popularize acquaintance with old English narratives of adventure, published in 1885 an important volume containing 'The First Three English Books on America.' The earliest of these is a little tract printed at Antwerp before 1510, of which only a single copy is now known to exist — in the British Museum. Its title is 'Of the Newe landes and of ye people founde by the messengers of the Kynge of Portyngale named Emanuel.' The other two were both issued by the scholar and man of science who prepared the way for Hakluyt, Richard Eden. The two titles are 'A treatyse of the newe India, with other new founde landes and Ilandes, as well eastwarde as westwarde, as they are knowne and found in these oure dayes, after the description of Sebastian Munster, in his booke of Universall Cosmographie: wherin the diligent reader may see the good successe and rewarde of noble and honeste enterpryses' [London, 1553], and 'The Decades of the newe worlde or West India, conteynyng the nauigations and conquestes of the Spanyardes, with the particular description of the moste ryche and large landes and Ilandes lately founde in the west Ocean perteynyng to the inheritance of the Kinges of Spayne' [London, 1555].

The 'Treatyse' is an exceedingly rare work, and the Library, whose copy bears the stamp of a British Museum duplicate, is believed to have only a single rival in the possession of a copy in the Western world. The English 'Decades' of 1555 is only

less rare than the volume of two years earlier. It is the earliest English collection of voyages, containing, besides the first three 'Decades' and the 'De Insulis' of Peter Martyr, important portions from the works of Oviedo, the Maximilianus Magellan tract, Vespuccius, and Gómara. A second edition, which is virtually a new work, was issued at London as the 'History of Travayle,' in 1577, with many new narratives replacing sections that had lost their interest to English readers. In 1561 Eden published a translation of the best contemporary Spanish work on navigation, with the title 'The Arte of Nauigation, conteynyng a compendious description of the Sphere. Wrytten in the Spanyshe tongue by Martin Curtes. Translated out of Spanyshe into Englyshe by Richard Eden,' London, 1561. This was supplanted fifteen years later, just before he got out the second collection of voyages, by 'A very necessarie and profitable booke concerning nauigation, compiled in Latin by Ioannes Taisnieres, a publike professor in Rome. Translated into Englishe by Richarde Eden,' London, 1579.

The effect of these successive publications is best described by Professor Arber — they made Eden "The pioneer of British geographical research, the very first of our naval chroniclers and the herald and fore-runner of all our subsequent discoveries and victories at sea."

Chapter III

SPANISH CONQUISTADORES AND PADRES

TO the casual reader of history, two books stand out as unsurpassed for intense interest, not to be laid aside until finished, as marvellous as the tales of the 'Arabian Nights,' and surpassing these because they tell of wonders achieved without the magic interposition of genii — Prescott's 'Conquest of Mexico' and his 'Conquest of Peru.' The events described in these two works so often challenge belief, that many readers regard them as scarcely distinguishable from fiction. It may well be doubted whether these readers ever think of just what actually occurred during the middle decades of the sixteenth century. It was a wonderful panorama that was suddenly revealed to the European public, of a new world occupied by strange peoples living in a state of barbaric civilization. The complete subjection of these peoples and the virtual annihilation of their civilization by Cortes and Pizarro followed so quickly, that the ordinary person has never to this day been able to understand just what happened. To the average European of those sixteenth-century decades it was as if the curtain had suddenly opened while the spotlight revealed a stream of great ships heavily laden with gold and looted treas-

ures of picturesque magnificence, about which stories were told that read like the tales of fairies. As suddenly the curtain drops. The tales are still being told, but no writer has ever succeeded in making them seem quite real. They stand out in all their original brilliance of barbaric splendor and rainbow hues reflected in polished gold, but behind and over them hangs a gloomy pall of blackened blood. When one wishes to express the utmost extremity of atrocious brutality, of man's inhumanity to his fellow men, he still speaks of the way the Spanish conquerors treated the natives of America.

The earliest news that the regions found by Columbus and named for Vespuccius might be inhabited by something more than naked savages appeared in the appendix to a book by an Italian, Ludovico Varthema of Bologna. He was the author of an 'Itinerario' describing his travels in Aethiopia, Egypt, Arabia, Syria, and India, which was first printed at Milan in 1511. It passed through a great many editions, and these have a place in an Americana collection on account of a narrative that had then just been received, concerning 'Certain islands recently discovered,' which was added to the Venice edition of 1520. This was the first news to reach the European reading public of Grijalva's visit to the coast of Yucatan in 1519, a voyage which was immediately responsible for the departure of Cortes in the same direction a year later. The Library has these two editions, each first in its way, as well as

two other Venice editions, of 1522 and 1526. Of these the earlier is said to be the only copy in the United States; it is so scarce that when Prescott was writing on the history of Mexico he secured a transcript from what was then the only known copy, in the library collected by Ferdinand, the son of Christopher Columbus.

Cortes, during the five years in which the ultimate fate of his great adventure hung in the balance, wrote an annual Carta, a letter or report, addressed to the Emperor Charles the Fifth. The first of these passed into the hands of Peter Martyr, who embodied an abstract of it in his '*De Nuper sub D. Carolo repertis Insulis*,' which was printed at Basle in 1521. When the succeeding letters arrived, there was no question of waiting for them to be translated into another language or of sending them half-way across Europe to be printed. An eager Spanish public demanded the earliest possible news of what was happening to their fellow countrymen who were engaged in a life-and-death struggle on the Mexican highlands. Before 1530 the Cortes letters, which had appeared in the original Spanish between 1522 and 1525, were as well known throughout Europe as the single epistle of Columbus had been, a third of a century before. They had already been translated into Latin, French, Italian, and German. Furthermore, during the ensuing decades, the contents of the letters was given additional circulation through the narratives of three contemporary historians,

Gómara, Bernal Diaz, and Sahagun, who recapitulated them with the addition of supplementary reports from other Conquistadores.

Francisco Lopez de Gómara, thirty years after the conquest, published two long historical treatises, the 'Conquista de Mexico' and the 'Historia General de las Indias.' He had taken part in the conquest of Mexico, as chaplain and secretary to Cortes, and his writing reflects the partiality inevitable in one who had remained on good terms with his chief under such conditions. There is much of importance in his narrative, although it suffers in the eyes of modern authors by comparison with the many other accounts written under the inspiration of the actual events. It was, however, the principal authoritative source of general information for nearly three hundred years, and the popular conception of the conquest of Mexico at the present day largely reflects the statements made in these two works.

The Spanish editions of Gómara number more than twenty; the Italian eleven; the French twelve. With the exception of a single pamphlet of Las Casas, no Spanish work on the New World was so widely read, over so long a period. Of these editions this Library possesses a representative group, including a Spanish edition from Antwerp, dated 1554, an Italian one from Rome, 1556, and two different editions from Venice, both dated 1560. The earliest English edition, entitled 'The Pleasant

Historie of the Conquest of the Weast India, most delectable to reade,' was printed at London in 1578.

The best account of the conquest was written by another of the companions of Cortes, Bernal Diaz del Castillo. This was not printed until 1632, although frequent quotations from it show that the historian Herrera had read it some years earlier. The author's original manuscript still exists in Guatemala, and the Mexican government secured a facsimile of it in 1895. An abstract from the narrative of Bernal Diaz appeared in the '*Novus Orbis*' of Simon Grynæus, which was printed at Basle in 1532, just a century before the first Spanish edition came out at Madrid. It was translated into English by Keatinge as early as 1800, and by Lockhart in 1844, but these publications could do nothing to stem the tide of general opinion based on the overwhelming number of editions of Gómara.

The Franciscan friar Bernardino Sahagun was another contemporary of the conquest who wrote about it, in connection with his more extensive work on the pre-Columbian history of the natives. His work was well known and frequently consulted by early Spanish writers, but it did not get into print until the appearance of the monumental volumes issued by Lord Kingsborough between 1831 and 1848.

The work of disseminating what might be called the official version of the events of the conquest, so successfully inaugurated by Gómara, was taken up

and given fresh vigor by Antonio de Solis, whose 'Historia de la Conquista de Mexico' first appeared at Madrid in 1684. Useless as a source of trustworthy information regarding the events which it narrates, and fully justifying the remark of Robertson that he knows "no author in any language whose literary fame has risen so far beyond his real merit," it is none the less true that nobody can understand why certain ideas about the conquest are so ineradicably fixed in the popular mind, without examining the work of Solis.

Peru was conquered by Pizarro in 1533, and a year later appeared the basic narrative describing his exploit, written by an eyewitness, Francisco de Xeres. Of this we have the Italian version printed in 1535 at Venice, as well as the extremely rare reprint of the original Spanish printed at Salamanca in 1547. Another Spanish edition, the only recorded copy of the only edition known in black letter, came from the Huth collection, and is, in the opinion of Henry Harrisse, earlier than the Salamanca edition.

An early writer whose work went through many editions was José de Acosta, the author of a 'Historia natural y moral de las Indias.' This cosmographical treatise contains a description of the religion and mode of government of the natives of Mexico and Peru, with a short account of the way the Spaniards established themselves in those two lands. The original edition appeared at Barcelona in 1591; the Library also possesses the Italian ver-

sion issued at Venice in 1596, and the Dutch translation, of Amsterdam, 1624, as well as the English version, by Edward Grimestone, printed in 1604.

Martyr, Oviedo, Ramusio, are the three great names among the early authorities on the Spanish in America, contemporaries in time, yet each representing a distinct period, a successive generation, in the steadily expanding knowledge of the New World during the sixteenth century. Peter Martyr was a contemporary annalist, although his wide experience, broad vision, and unusual grasp of the significance of events, gave his writings historical as well as annalistic value.

A younger acquaintance of Peter Martyr, who spent some thirty-five years of his eventful life in America, inaugurated the more strictly historical treatment of their period. This was Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdés, whose first book, 'De la Natural Hystoria de las Indias,' also known as the 'Sumario,' appeared at Toledo in 1526. He was appointed the official Chronicler of New World events by the Spanish monarch, being the first holder of the title, which gained added laurels from Herrera, and nothing from Solis. Oviedo's great work, the 'Historia General de las Indias,' was published in 1535 at Seville. This contains at the end a "Carta missiva" to which the author attached his written signature. A second edition is dated Salamanca, 1547. Ten years after this, the year of Oviedo's death, the twentieth book of the second part of his

'Historia' was printed at Valladolid. This was only a portion of what he had written, and the remainder, which he had not regarded as ready for publication, continued in manuscript until 1855, when the Spanish Academy of History printed the portions that had survived. The Library has each of these editions; those of 1526 and 1547 were secured at the dispersal of the Huth collection.

The Italian, Giovanni Battista Ramusio, was the first of the great editors of collections of narratives of geographical exploration. To him the world is indebted for the preservation in print of a mass of documentary material. A considerable portion of this would not have been saved, if he had not demonstrated on a large scale that a narrative in the actual words of the actor has far greater interest than any rewriting of the account by the literary historians. The three volumes of Ramusio's '*Delle Navigazione et Viaggi*' went through repeated editions between 1550 and 1606, and sets are ordinarily, as the one in this Library (1563, 1606, 1606), made up of volumes of various dates.

One section of Ramusio's third volume contains narratives written by the earliest Spaniards who penetrated into the territory that is now comprised within the boundaries of the United States. Among these are some of which no other copy has ever been found, so that Ramusio remains an authority of the first importance for the history of this country. He was not, however, the earliest to put in print a nar-

rative of a Spanish traveller north of Mexico. This distinction belongs to Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca. He wrote an account describing his extraordinary experiences while wandering overland across what are now the Gulf States, from Florida to the Rio Grande and thence to the northernmost Spanish outposts. This account, the first book of travels in what is now the United States, is so vivid that it still holds a place among the most readable works of this character. The original edition, printed in 1542, is known from only two copies, one in New York and the other in London; the second edition of 1555 is a very scarce work, of which the Library has a fine copy in its original vellum cover.

Another writer of this century whose work is of particular interest because it contains in an appendix a long account of Antonio de Espejo's expedition into New Mexico, is Juan Gonzalez de Mendoza. He was a divine and statesman, who was sent by Philip II as ambassador to China. The 'Historie of the Great and Mightie Kingdome of China,' which he wrote in Spanish on his return, was translated into Italian and printed at Venice in 1586, the year after its first appearance, and an English translation was published at London in 1588.

Cabeza de Vaca's famous wandering in search of a way out of the northern American continent started somewhere on the Florida peninsula. The earliest indication that the Spaniards had visited this region appears on the manuscript map of 1502,

known as the Cantino Chart, of which the Library's map division has a full-size facsimile. Ten years later Ponce de Leon made his famous visit to these shores, and after another quarter-century Hernando de Soto led his ill-fated companions through a region which is to this day as little known as any part of the United States. A contemporary account of the expedition by a certain "Gentleman of Elvas" was printed at Evora, a Portuguese inland county-seat, in 1557. The original edition is known by two copies only, in the Lenox and the British Museum collections, but the Library possesses the only less scarce translation of it, made by Richard Hakluyt, and printed in 1609 with the title, 'Virginia richly valued, by the description of the mainland of Florida, her next neighbour.' Not to be compared with these early editions in actual rarity, and yet far from easy to come by when one wants to buy it, is the later translation made by Buckingham Smith and printed as one of the publications of the Bradford Club of New York, in 1866.

The date of Hakluyt's translation, as well as the title, shows why it was issued. There is the same evidence to explain the next two editions, in French and English, dated 1685 and 1686, when the struggle for a foothold on the Florida coast was again being bloodily contested. Both are in the Library. Just a century earlier, at Paris in 1586, appeared a work giving the details of another important episode in the long struggle between the French

Huguenots and Catholics, René de Laudonnière's 'L'Histoire notable de la Floride,' compiled by M. Basanier, who added the narrative of the last of the four expeditions recorded in the volume.

The student of Floridian annals will want to consult other works: the 'Cosmographie Universelle' of André Thevet (Paris, 1575); Lescarbot's 'Nouvelle France' (Paris, 1611 and 1618); Charlevoix, 'Nouvelle France' (Paris, 1744); Bernard Romans's 'Natural History' (New York, 1775); Henri Ternaux's collection of 'Voyages, Relations et Mémoires' (Paris, 1837-41); B. F. French's 'Historical Collections of Louisiana' (Philadelphia, 1846-75); and the scholarly volumes of reprints edited by members of the Hakluyt Society in the long series that extends in unbroken sequence from 1848.

In 1552 the Dominican friar, Bartolomé de Las Casas, printed at Seville a series of nine brief tracts, all developing the main idea expressed by the title of the first: 'A very short account of the destruction of the Indies.' These tracts made a profound impression upon the Spanish court and upon the reading public, and they remain to this day the principal source of popular information as to the treatment of the natives by the Spanish colonial administrators and settlers. Besides the original series of nine tracts, in perfect condition, the Library has the several editions of the fourth tract and the so-called 'Tenth Part,' printed at Frankfort in 1571, five years after the death of Las Casas.

In the first tract, the 'Brevissima Relación,' Las Casas gave full vent to his pent-up fury against those secular and priestly rivals who had forced him to abandon his work in the colonies, and who had perpetrated the horrors which he had witnessed, or heard about, against the natives in America. This tract was addressed to the authorities in Spain, and undoubtedly had great influence upon their attitude toward their subordinates in the colonies. Neither the author nor the readers whom he addressed could have foreseen that this tract, the first of the series, was to become perhaps the most powerful single weapon ever placed in the hands of the enemies of Spain. To it can be traced directly a large part of the well-nigh universal horror that the European world has felt at the mention of "Spanish cruelty" from that day to the present. The tract was translated almost immediately into the various European languages, and these versions were reprinted again and again as long as Spain remained a dangerous factor in the struggle between the Catholic and Protestant powers. During the first two decades of the seventeenth century, the succession of editions, particularly those in Dutch and Flemish, shows how valuable a weapon it proved in arousing hatred of the Spanish name. A French translator, whose version appeared at Antwerp in 1579, moderated the descriptions of some things that seemed to him unbelievable. Besides this, the Library also has a French manuscript copy written

in 1582, with illustrations which must have satisfied the bitterest enemy of Spain. These illustrations are particularly interesting, because they are the same that appeared in the edition issued by the famous Amsterdam publisher and engraver, Theodore De Bry, in 1598, and it has been suggested that they may be the originals which were used by him.

The earliest version of the Las Casas tract in English is a very rare book, printed at London in 1583 as 'The Spanish colonie, or Brief chronicle of the acts and gestes of the Spaniardes in the West Indies, called the Newe Worlde.' The London, 1689, edition was called 'Popery truly display'd in its bloody colours: or, A Faithful narrative of the horrid and unexampled massacres, butcheries, and all Manner of Cruelties, that Hell and Malice could invent.' Ten years later, in 1699, the editor or publisher changed his appeal, copying the title of an Amsterdam edition of the preceding year, and offering the book as 'An account of the first voyages and discoveries made by the Spaniards.' This London title of 1699 is justified in a measure by the fact that it is the first of these editions to include some of the more important sections from the whole series of nine tracts, although its theme is still 'The destruction of above Forty Millions of People.' Few things have been written that have so completely disappeared from the knowledge of later generations, that had more influence upon the world's opinion, than the Las Casas tracts.

Besides these tracts, the great bishop wrote another and much more extensive work that is of the highest historical importance. This is his 'Historia de las Indias.' It remained in manuscript until published by the Spanish Academy in 1876, but it, like the unpublished work of Oviedo, was used by Herrera, whose 'Historia' contains important extracts from it, and by later historians, several of whom possessed transcripts from the original manuscript, of which a number are known. Besides this extensive work, there is a series of six interesting letters and papers which were discovered and printed in an attractive series in 1854 by Henry Stevens.

An Italian historian, Girolamo Benzoni, in his 'Historia del Mondo Nuevo,' first printed at Venice in 1565, added his authority to many of the statements narrated by Las Casas. Banned in Spain, this work had a wide circulation throughout the rest of Europe. There are editions in Latin (Geneva, 1578, the first edition, and Vignon, 1586), in French, German, Dutch (by De Bry in 1596), and English, the last by Samuel Purchas, printed in 1626.

The Las Casas tracts started a violent controversy between the returned missionary and the authorities in Spain who were directly responsible for the conduct of affairs by their subordinates in the colonies. The spokesman for the authorities was the official historian, Oviedo, who had his personal reasons for feeling aggrieved, because the friar had accused him of perverting or misstating facts in his

published works. The counter-charge was made that Las Casas was responsible for introducing negro slavery into the New World. He had advocated this, as a practicable solution of the labor problem raised by his demand that forced labor should cease to be imposed upon the American natives. This is the beginning of another long-continued controversy between those who strive for the right and those who are compelled to struggle with conditions as they exist. One aspect of this conflict between ideals and actualities was the prolonged discussion between the English and Spanish governments over the so-called Assiento Contract, which concerned the English share of the immensely profitable trade in supplying negroes to the colonial planters. In the Library's Shelburne Collection of Manuscripts there are some two thousand pages of official letters and documents relating to this discussion.

Unquestionably the greatest Spanish colonial annalist, and most critics would say historian as well, for this is the opinion of those most competent to judge, — Prescott, Irving, Robertson, Ticknor, Muñoz, and the bibliographers Brunet, Sabin, Eames, and Toribio de Medina, — is Antonio de Herrera. He was appointed historiographer of the Indies by Philip II in 1591. His monumental '*Historia General de los Hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas y Tierra Firme del Mar Oceano*,' in eight decades printed in four volumes folio, was published in 1601-1615. His official position gave him

direct access to the state papers and other authentic sources, such as the unpublished manuscripts left by Las Casas, which previous writers had not been able to consult. His use of these was on the whole both accurate and unprejudiced, and his great work is indispensable for those who wish to study the colonial period and the aboriginal American peoples. It was reprinted, with additional material in a fifth volume, under the editorship of Gonzalez Barcia, at Madrid in 1730. Of this edition the Library has a fine copy on large paper. An English translation in six small volumes, by Captain John Stevens, makes very good reading and is useful for those who are seeking the English equivalents of many Spanish terms more familiar then than now, and to seafarers than to fireside translators. The captain took many liberties with his author's work, so that it cannot safely be used for purposes of historical study. An excellent bibliography of the writings of Herrera in Sabin's 'Dictionary of American Books,' also issued separately, was one of the first publications which attracted the attention of students of Americana to the work of Wilberforce Eames, for many years now Dean of American students of book-lore.

Chapter IV

ENGLISH AND FRENCH VOYAGERS

ENGLISH-SPEAKING children are taught in their schools that John Cabot discovered the North American continent for the English crown and race. He was a Venetian, who sailed westward from Bristol in 1497 and returned with the news that he had made a landfall on the other side of the Atlantic. A year later he set forth again, with six vessels and some three hundred men, in search of Cathay and the land of spices; one of the vessels got back to Ireland in distress, with the report of a terrific storm. This is the last heard of John Cabot. His son Sebastian may, on this or some subsequent voyage, have continued the search for a northwestern passage through to the farther East, and failing in this, have explored the coast northward from Spanish Florida.

These simple statements are satisfying to the schoolchildren and their teachers, and if the matter could rest there the historian's duty would be easy. But careful investigators find that the facts are so beset with confusions that every word in the statement demands qualification. In consequence the Cabot question affords perhaps the best single illustration of the need of reëxamining the whole body

of accepted statements concerning early American history.

A single fact is important and has never been seriously controverted — John Cabot was authorized by the English king to make a voyage, and on that voyage he discovered North America. Inevitably this fact raises a score of questions everyone would like to know more about: who he was, where and when he landed, what he saw and did there, who was with him, what happened next? These questions were asked and answered in the autumn of the year 1497, but the written answers were in cipher letters secretly dispatched to Madrid and to Venice, where they remained hidden for four centuries. During this long interval, other reports gained currency in print. Most of these we now know to have been based on accurate information, which was not clearly understood by those who spread them first by word of mouth, or who later put them on record in books. The enormous and steadily increasing importance of Cabot's discovery, as the basis for the English claim to rights on American soil, led to the most minute and repeated examination of every scrap of evidence. The result is that this has been the subject for more writing, most of it controversial in character, than any other single episode in American annals. Most of the time and effort and critical ability devoted to these discussions has been utterly wasted so far as the historical truth is concerned; but the future

will not begrudge the loss if this body of historical material serves, as it may well do, to train new generations of investigators and writers in the way to avoid the pitfalls that beset the pilgrim's path toward historical truth.

The official document that authorized Cabot's voyage was printed by Richard Hakluyt in his 'Divers Voyages,' in 1582, but the main facts had been made public nearly seventy years earlier by Peter Martyr in his 'Decades,' Alcalá, 1516, and in the 'Summario de la Generale Historia de l'Indie occidentali,' Venetia, 1534. Ten years after the 'Summario' appeared at Venice, John Cabot's son Sebastian printed, on a map and in a pamphlet each of which is now known from only a single surviving copy, a statement about the discovery which would be accurate if there was not a misprint in the all-important date. These were supplemented a decade later by Ramusio, who talked with Sebastian Cabot about these things while they were guests at a house party in Verona, and who added some very significant details to the story when he embodied it in his monumental 'Viaggi,' Venetia, 1550-1606.

Richard Eden put the facts about Cabot's voyage within reach of English readers in his 'Treatyse of the Newe India,' London, 1553, and in his compilation from Martyr and others, published two years later. Eden possessed no new information, but just about this time Sebastian Cabot was induced to re-

turn to England, bringing stirring tales of the marvellous discoveries made by the Spaniards and the gold collected by them. This awakened fresh interest at the English court and in every seaport, and the importance of the claim of a right to share in the exploitation of the New World, made possible by the voyage of 1497, was at once emphasized. Englishmen began to be stirred by the enthusiasm for colonization and for the development of trade overseas, which was to bear such rich fruit a half-century later.

Typical of the solid English character and of the English way of laying down a foundation upon which to rest its case when there is difficult work ahead, is the exceedingly rare little volume which marks the real beginning of England's entry into serious competition with Spain for the American field. This is Richard Hakluyt's earliest publication, put forth at London in 1582, with the title 'Divers Voyages touching the discoverie of America, and the Islands adjacent unto the same, made first of all by our Englishmen, and afterwards by the Frenchmen and Britons [i. e. Bretons]: And certaine notes of advertisements for observations, necessarie for such as shall heereafter make the like attempt.' This contains, in Latin and English, the text of the Letters Patent under which the discovery of 1497 was made for England. Besides these it gives several other narratives, including that of Verrazano's voyage along the American coast, during which

he sailed into Narragansett Bay and New York Harbor.

Giovanni da Verrazano was, like John Cabot, an Italian sailing master in foreign service. He made his voyage of discovery in 1524, armed with a licence from the French monarch, Francis I; but he was equally ready to turn pirate on his own responsibility, as when four years later he met on the high seas one of the treasure ships laden with the loot gathered by Cortes in Mexico. On his return to Dieppe from the voyage, which seems to have extended from the latitude of the Carolinas to the coast of Maine, he wrote two letters or reports. One of these came into the possession of Ramusio, who translated it for the third volume of his 'Viaggi.' The other did not get into print until nearly three centuries later, when it was included in the New York Historical Society volume for 1841. That the importance of Verrazano's exploration was appreciated from the first is clear from Hakluyt's use of Ramusio's text, in 1582, as well as the appearance of Verrazano's name on the famous Lok map, issued with some copies of the 'Divers Voyages.' All the reports of this voyage became the subject of a virulent controversy which broke out in the eighteenth century, in which James Carson Brevoort, Henry C. Murphy, Henry Harrisse, Buckingham Smith, Richard Henry Major, and Benjamin Franklin Da Costa illustrated the extraordinary ease with which diametrically opposite conclusions can be drawn

from the smallest possible body of material, with which all of these writers were equally well acquainted. This controversy is quite as well worth studying as are those waged over the Cabots, and will prove fully as illuminating as a revelation of the close connection between historical opinions and social or pecuniary obligations.

Spanish officials learned through their diplomatic agents that the French were sending Verrazano to spy out the Western land, and ordered Estevan Gomez to do some scouting on their account toward the northwest. He sailed in 1525, and there are references to the voyage in the 'Sumario' of Oviedo, in Martyr's 'Decades' of 1530, as well as in Gómara and Herrera. Equally important are the traces of his reports that can be made out on the Spanish maps, of which the Library has an extensive collection of facsimiles, many of which were secured with the Henry Vignaud library. The Gomez documents have to do also with the Verrazano discussions, because Mr. Murphy contended that the French reports were fabricated out of information secured piratically from one of the ships that accompanied Gomez, of whose fate nothing is actually known.

Of earlier date is the Portuguese attempt to pick up some crumbs from the colonial table that was overflowing into the neighboring portion of the Iberian peninsula. In 1500 Gaspar Cortereal was authorized by King Emmanuel to find a route to

Cathay. Although he may not have known it, he set out on the shortest route, geographically, and got as far as Greenland, where he learned that the western continental mass was not the only obstacle in the way of navigators seeking a northwest passage. The brief account of this, as well as of two subsequent voyages in the same direction by Corteal and his brothers, may be found in the '*Paesinovamente ritrovati*,' printed at Vicenza in 1507, and also in Ramusio's '*Viaggi*,' first printed in 1550 at Venice.

The greatest of the French explorers was the Breton sailor Jacques Cartier. He made three voyages, on two of which he was the sole commander; in the third Francis I associated with him the Sieur de Roberval, to whom was given the title of Governor of Canada and of Hochelaga. Sailing first in April, 1534, on the perennial quest for a passage through to India, Cartier found the only opening on the whole Atlantic coast that really offered a chance deserving further exploration, the Gulf of Saint Lawrence. Returning the next season, Cartier sailed up the great river, the tidal flow encouraging his hopes that it might prove the long-sought waterway through to the South Sea, past the native settlement where Quebec now is, until his hopes were at last dashed by the rapids at the spot where Montreal is situated. Here Cartier with his crew spent a disastrous winter, returning to France by midsummer of 1536.

There is an account of Cartier's two voyages in Ramusio's third volume. This Italian version was translated into English by John Florio, the friend of Shakespeare, and printed with the title 'A shorte and brief narration of the two Navigations and discoveries to the Northwest partes called Newe Fraunce: . . . Worthy the reading of all Venturers, Travellers, and Discoverers.' Of this precious and very rare tract, the Library has a copy that was once among the duplicate treasures of the British Museum. All of the French tracts relating to this period are of the utmost rarity, most of those that have survived at all being known from a single recorded copy. The Library has been fortunate in securing facsimiles of these little pamphlets of which the original editions are now unprocurable. Some of these were published at Paris during the middle decades of the nineteenth century, in very attractive editions, copies of which are already almost as difficult to acquire as the originals printed two or three hundred years earlier. Others are included in the important series of photostat facsimiles of rare Americana titles, selected by Wilberforce Eames and reproduced under the supervision of Worthington Chauncey Ford of the Massachusetts Historical Society, for a small group of associated libraries, of which this is one.

The French spirit of adventure for trade and discovery, so ardent with Cartier, slumbered after his death for more than fifty years. War occupied

France's attention, and not until the beginning of the seventeenth century did there occur a reawakening to outside enterprise. Then the Governor of Dieppe was the exponent of the revival. He organized in 1603, under the Royal sanction, a company for the purpose of making settlements and trading posts for the fur traffic. Two vessels were fitted out and set sail in March of that year, under the command of Samuel de Champlain. Sailing up the St. Lawrence, he revisited the places seen by Cartier, gathered information in regard to the natives, and returned to make a brief report, which was at once printed in a tiny pamphlet. The result of this was that the patrons of the enterprise decided to try to find a milder spot for the headquarters of their undertaking. The next year Champlain, with the *Sieur de Monts* as governor of the proposed settlement, crossed to the Bay of Fundy. Here De Monts began what he hoped would be a permanent settlement, while Champlain explored the coast toward the south, making a map which shows with accurate detail the New England shore from the St. Croix River to Nauset Harbor on Cape Cod.

Returning to France for the winter of 1607-08, Champlain was made Lieutenant-Governor of New France, or Canada, a position which he retained for the balance of his life. The next spring he was again in the New World. Either because he did not choose to risk inviting trouble with those who were carrying out the English colonial plans, or because

of the greater opportunities for the fur trade in the north, he went back to the St. Lawrence. Quebec was founded, and the next year, 1609, he explored the lake which perpetuates his name, engaging in the famous battle with the Mohawks, which influenced the whole future course of events between the Indian allies of the French and the English colonists. For the next quarter of a century he was the outstanding figure in the colony, or as its representative at Paris, until his death on Christmas Day, 1635.

Champlain's writings are by no means the least of his services to the colony and to posterity. In Paris, 1613, he published a substantial quarto volume entitled 'Les Voyages du Sieur de Champlain. Journal très-fidèle des Observations faites ès decouvertures de la Nouvelle France: tant en la description des terres, costes, rivières . . . qu'en la creance des peuples, leur superstitions, façon de vivre & de guerroyer.' This volume not only narrates the events of the ten years since his first visit to the country, but is an invaluable document for the natural history of the region, describing its fauna and flora, the character of the soil, and also giving a description of the natives and their customs as he had observed them in different localities. The Library's copy of this important volume came from the Crane collection and is in its original velum binding. It was once in the library of the Society of Jesus at Brussels. The narrative was con-

tinued to the end of the year 1618 in 'Voyages et Descouvertes faites en la Nouvelle France, depuis l'annee 1615 jusques à la fin de l'annee 1618,' of which the Library's copy has the title dated 1627. In 1632 appeared 'Les Voyages de la Nouvelle France Occidentale, dicte Canada, faits par le Sr. de Champlain, depuis l'an 1603.' The narrative comes down to include the capture of Quebec by the English in 1629. This is the most important single volume of the series, but in his revision Champlain necessarily omitted many sections from the previous publications which the modern student finds valuable, so that it is essential that each be consulted. The Library has the Robert Hoe copy of the 1632 edition, as well as the earliest reprint of 1640, and the latest of 1922. Between these dates there are two other editions: one in French, issued under the supervision of the Abbé Laverdière at Quebec in 1870, and one in English, translated by Charles Pomeroy Otis for the Prince Society in 1878-82.

Champlain was the earliest of a remarkable group of French chroniclers — Champlain, Sagard, Les-carbot, Leclercq, and the writers of the 'Jesuit Relations' — all of whose writings are indispensable for the study of Canadian history. They are almost equally fundamental for that of a considerable portion of the United States. Champlain's narrative contains the earliest information concerning the Great Lakes and the adjacent territory. His excur-

sion to Lake Champlain and his intercourse with the Iroquois make him an authority of primary importance for New York and northern New England history. The first contact with the natives of the Mohawk Valley was particularly fateful. The French explorers with their firearms turned the tide of battle in favor of their companions, warriors from the northern tribes. It was the beginning of a feud that lasted as long as there were French soldiers in Canada for the Iroquois warriors to hate. Many times during the ensuing hundred and fifty years the tide of events was turned by the Indian allies of the English, whose undying enmity the French emissaries were never able to overcome. What might have happened had that first encounter ended in friendship for Champlain and his countrymen is a fascinating subject for speculation.

One of the companions of De Monts at the settlement in Acadie and on the early return to Paris was Marc Lescarbot. There is no evidence that he ventured far from the main colony, but his brief residence in the New World was utilized to advantage in publishing, in 1609, a '*Histoire de la Nouvelle France contenant les navigations, decouvertes, & habitations faites par les Francois es Indes Occidentales & Nouvelle-France, & les diverses fortunes d'iceux en l'exécution de ces choses, depuis cent ans jusques à hui.*' This '*Histoire morale, naturele, & géographique*' embodies the narratives that had previously been printed of the voyages of Verra-

zано, Laudonnière, Cartier, Robeval, and the other French explorers. It is of the utmost value as showing just what was known to the French public when the settlement of Canada began, and what influences helped to animate those who volunteered for the new France overseas. It is also important for many details concerning the De Monts colony and for the causes which led to its abandonment. The Library's copy of the first edition is in a fine contemporary vellum binding, with the leather latches intact. Evidently this is not a copy that had any influence on earlier generations of readers, for the leaves are still unopened three hundred years after the volume was printed. The immediate success of the work is shown by the fact that three new and enlarged editions came out within the next decade; of these the Library has those dated 1611 and 1618.

Appended to Lescarbot's 'Histoire,' with its own title-page, is a dramatic poem occupying 66 pages, entitled 'Les Muses de la Nouvelle France.' The extraordinary interest of this piece lies in the facts, not only that it was the first literary product emanating from the French colony, but that there is every reason to believe that the pageant of which it preserves the text was actually performed by those gay young Frenchmen during their brief summer residence on an island in the St. Croix river. Doubtless they might better have been tending their crops or hewing timbers, instead of play-acting; but it may be equally true that nothing they might have

done would have altered the geographical fact that their commander had selected an impossible place for the site of his settlement.

An English translation of Lescarbot's book, much abridged, was printed the same year as the first edition, London, 1609, with the title 'Nova Francia, or the Description of that part of New France which is one continent with Virginia.' Like so many of the similar London publications of this period, this translation was undertaken at the suggestion of Richard Hakluyt. Lescarbot's name does not appear in the book, and the translator, Pierre Eron-delle, put only his initials on the title-page.

Gabriel Sagard was the author of two works which are of prime importance for an understanding of the Catholic missions. They give a profuse account of the Indian life and manners, which was based mainly on what he learned from others, although he spent a short time among the Huron tribes. Sagard's first book, printed at Paris in 1632, was entitled 'Le Grand Voyage du Pays des Hurons, situé en L'Amerique vers la mer douce, es derniers confins de la nouvelle France, Ou il est traicté de tout ce qui est du pays & du gouvernement des Sauvages.' Four years later this was expanded into a 'Histoire du Canada et Voyages que les Frères Mineurs Recollects y ont faicts pour la conversion des Infidelles. Ou est amplement traicté des choses principales arrivées dans le pays depuis l'an 1615 jusques à la prise qui en a esté

faicte par les Anglois.' The Library has the good fortune to possess these works with the two sections — a Dictionary of Huron names in the first, and four pages of Indian music in the 'Histoire' — which are frequently missing.

Nobody will ever know how many English sailors, looking for a cargo of fish or of anything else that would pay them for their time and trouble, crossed the Atlantic during the early decades of the sixteenth century, following the course set them by the Cabots. Caring only for what they got out of the voyage, and anxious to avoid future competition if the trip turned out well, the last thing they wanted was a record of what they had done. Richard Hakluyt, at the end of this century, was able to rescue from oblivion a few documents and put into print the names of some of these forerunners of English commerce. Of these the most prominent were William and John Hawkins, father and son. William Hawkins, in 1530, made the first recorded voyage to the coast of Guinea for blacks, and thence to Brazil for a market, winning unenviable distinction as the founder of the "Triangular Voyage" upon which so many fortunes of the Old and New England were established during the next three hundred years. John Hawkins, continuing the family trade, came into the light when, in 1563, he happened luckily to touch at the settlement on the coast of Florida where the French colonists of Laudonnière were in need of help. The third of the

name, Sir Richard, made a famous voyage into the South Seas, in 1593, the tale of which was printed in London, 1622, as 'The Observations of Sir Richard Hawkins.'

Preëminent among England's seafarers is Sir Francis Drake. Navigator, explorer, pirate, his career typifies the maritime spirit of that adventurous age. Equally typical of the Protestant half of the England of his time is his implacable hatred toward the Spaniard. He had seen how the Spaniards treated the native inhabitants of their New World possessions, and their inquisitional methods of dealing with the heretical Protestants. He never forgave them the perfidy at San Juan d'Ulua, when he was in the fleet of Sir John Hawkins, and to the end of his life sought revenge against the countrymen of those who had played him false. His whole career is that of a great Englishman in whom were embodied a large share of the traits which appeal to all of English blood and inheritance.

The story of Drake's most famous voyage is told by the chaplain of the expedition, Francis Fletcher, in a volume published at London a half-century later, in 1628, entitled 'The world encompassed by Sir Francis Drake, Being his next voyage to that to Nombre de Dios, offered now to publique view, both for the honour of the actor, but especially for the stirring up of heroick spirits, to benefit their Countrey, and eternize their names by like noble attempts.' Starting in November, 1577, he coasted

the Atlantic shores of South America, made his way through the Straits of Magellan, and stopped at Valparaiso, without especial adventure. Then fate, or shrewd calculation, put in his way a Spanish treasure ship, of which he took possession, a prize that amply rewarded all concerned in the venture. Knowing that he would have to fight his way back into the Atlantic, Drake decided to find another way home. Sailing north, he made the earliest careful exploration of the coast northward from the Gulf of California, hoping to discover the western opening of the long-sought water passage through North America. Not far from the present city of San Francisco he went ashore and careened his ships, taking possession of this land, which he called New Albion, for the English crown — a claim that lapsed until the events of 1849 led to its return to the English race. Unable to find a shorter route, Drake boldly set his course westward, and made his way back to London around the Cape of Good Hope, in the autumn of 1580.

The return of Drake was a memorable event in London's annals. The printers did their best to satisfy the public's curiosity to learn about his adventures and the treasure he brought back to enrich Elizabeth and the others who had provided funds to equip the fleet. People bought and read and threw away the little tracts that told the story, which are to-day among the very scarcest of all the books that collectors strive for, and well-nigh

priceless when found. Not only in England, but all over Europe there was the same eager desire to read the tale of how Drake and his men tweaked the Spaniard's beard, and audaciously rifled treasures where he thought them safest. One of these, printed at Leyden in 1588, has the Latin title '*Ex-peditio Francisci Draki equitis Angli in Indias Occidentales.*' Equally interesting and significant is the argument in justification of Drake's treatment of the Spaniards, set forth by Edward Daunce in '*A brieve discourse of the Spanish state,*' London, 1590.

Besides these, there is an account of the attack in 1589, on Lisbon, at that time an appanage of the Spanish crown, in which Drake was associated with Edward Norris, '*A true coppie of a discourse written by a gentleman employed in the late voyage of Spaine and Portingale,*' London, 1589. There was also a Latin version of this tract printed the same year, 1589, at London, which was presumably intended, perhaps as propaganda, for the European public: '*Ephemeris expeditionis Norreysij & Draki in Lusitaniam.*' The story of Drake's last voyage, in 1595-96, is told in Henry Savile's '*A Libell of Spanish Lies found at the Sacke of Cales, discoursing the fight in the West Indies, twixt the English Navie being fourteene Ships and Pinasses, and a fleete of twentie saile of the King of Spaines, and the death of Sir Francis Drake.*' With an answer briefly confuting the Spanish Lies, and a short

Relation of the fight according to truth,' London, 1596.

There may have been political reasons to explain why the first collected edition of the narratives of Drake's voyages came out in the year 1626. It is entitled 'Sir Francis Drake Revived: Calling upon this Dull or Effeminate Age to folowe his Noble Steps for Golde & Silver,' London, 1626. This was compiled by his nephew, of the same name. In 1653 it was again issued, together with the first collected edition of Drake's voyages with the title: 'Sir Francis Drake revived. Who is or may be a pattern to stirre up all heroicke and active spirits in these times,' London, 1653.

Nothing enables modern readers to appreciate the state of geographical knowledge at the end of the century following the discovery of America, better than the fact that all the contemporaries of Drake believed that somewhere a passage must exist by which ships could sail direct from the North Atlantic into the Pacific or South Sea. The search for this Northwest Passage, as it came to be designated after the coast line south of Labrador had been definitely outlined, continued at intervals, until the water route north of the American continent was at last achieved by Amundsen in 1906. Here, we are interested only in the three earlier voyagers, Martin Frobisher, Luke Foxe, and Thomas James, whose courage and endurance supplied the main outline of the mainland west of Greenland.

Of the accounts of Frobisher's voyage, the Library has two Latin versions, the '*Historia navigationis Martini Forbissieri*,' printed at Hamburg in 1675; and the '*De Martini Forbissieri Angli navigatione in regiones occidentis et septentrionis*,' Nuremberg, 1580. The narrative of Fox's voyage is entitled '*North-West Fox, or Fox from the Northwest passage. Beginning with King Arthur*,' London, 1635; and this copy contains the exceedingly rare map which was not included in all copies of the work. This is true also of the map which is in the copy of the '*Strange and dangerous voyage of Captaine Thomas James, in his intended discovery of the northwest passage into the South Sea*,' London, 1633. A later edition of this book is dated 1740.

Chapter V

THE COLLECTIONS OF VOYAGES

AN account of the great Collections of Voyages is the fitting conclusion to this series of chapters which have described the source books of the period of maritime discovery. These Collections, published in Latin, English, French, and German, are a summary of all that had been done since 1492. They contain comparatively few narratives that had not appeared previously in another form, ordinarily in the small quarto pamphlets which now constitute the most characteristic group of the rarest "Americana." The Collections are by comparison quite common, unless one desires to have each of them in its best and earliest form, and complete in all its parts. In this case they call for persistent searching, unwearied patience, and a large amount of money. The Library contains each of these important Collections, and if they are not yet all perfected, they are as a whole in satisfactory state for most purposes, and they contain many important bibliographical features not often found.

Of the various men who edited or published these Collections, the work of the Englishman, Richard Hakluyt, is to us the most interesting. His earliest publication was the 'Divers Voyages' of 1582, al-

ready mentioned on previous pages—from many points of view the greatest of all English source books. It contains the basic accounts of the region that is now the United States. Other publications due to him have also been noted, from which many English readers secured their first information about Canada, Florida, and the intervening territory covered by the name of Virginia.

In 1589 Hakluyt expanded the little quarto 'Divers Voyages' into a substantial folio containing 'The Principall Navigations, Voyages, and Discoveries of the English Nation.' This is "an invaluable treasury of nautical information, which has affixed to his name a brilliancy of reputation which time can never efface or obscure." The Library's copy is exceptionally fine, with all the many "points" demanded by a discriminating collector. Large and perfect, it is exactly as when originally issued, without the leaves containing 'The famous voyage of Sir Francis Drake into the South Sea,' which were suppressed. Alongside of the volume, however, is a copy of the suppressed voyage as it was issued privately by Hakluyt, as well as the two issues of the Bowes voyage, which are even rarer than the Drake. The volume also contains the correct Ortelius map. This was inserted, as Hakluyt explains in his preface, when he found that the map he wanted, "composed by M. Emmeric Mollineux of Lambeth, a rare gentleman in his profession," would not be completed in time. A copy of this famous Molyneux

map, in its first state, is the chief glory of the Library's copy of Hakluyt's most important publication, 'The Principal Navigations, Voiages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation, made by Sea or over Land, to the remote and farthest distant quarters of the Earth, at any time within the compasse of these 1500 yeeres,' comprising three large volumes, London, 1598-1600. This copy, in the contemporary calf binding, came from the Bridge-water collection formed by the Earls of Ellesmere. There is also another copy, which formerly belonged to the New England historian Samuel G. Drake. No one has ever surpassed Richard Hakluyt in faithfulness to his task as a compiler and editor, and English scholars are still busy creating a most fitting monument to his memory in the long series of volumes bearing the imprint of the Society which perpetuates his name.

'Hakluytus Posthumus' was the title adopted by Samuel Purchas, a worthy clergyman who secured the papers left by Hakluyt and attempted to publish them in what he considered a better way. He filled four bulky volumes, which he entitled his 'Pilgrimes,' preserving many narratives that would undoubtedly have been lost if he had not used them. The trouble with Purchas was that he did not realize that he knew almost nothing about voyages of discovery or the men who made them. He rewrote the narratives that came into his hands, "improving" as seemed to him desirable, omitting what did

not interest him, and adding his own occasional reflections, which were doubtless more edifying to their author than they have been found by later generations. With all their faults, the volumes contain much that is of the highest value concerning events of which there is no other record extant.

The bibliography of Purchas's publications is thoroughly complex, and has not yet been worked out satisfactorily. His first work was entitled 'Purchas his Pilgrimage. Or Relations of the World and the Religions observed in all Ages and Places discovered, from the Creation unto this present.' This was printed in 1613, and a fourth edition is ordinarily found with the set of 'Hakluytus Posthumus' or 'Pilgrimes.' Six years later appeared 'Purchas His Pilgrim. Microcosmus, or the History of man. Relating the wonders of his Generation, Vanities in his Degeneration, Necessity of his Regeneration. Meditated on the words of David.' These meditations fill a folio volume of over 800 pages.

The Library has two sets of the five-volume work. One has the title of the first volume dated 1625, in this and other respects agreeing with all ordinary copies. The other set is a remarkable one, for not only are all the volumes in their original vellum bindings with silk ties, but each is the earliest issue. Volume I has the engraved title dated 1624, and there are peculiarities in the wording of the title that are not found in the other recorded copies.

There is no dedication to the King, and the dedication to the Archbishop of Canterbury appears as originally written, entirely different from the subsequent form. In the fifth volume there are statements about the Dutch which the author changed materially before the work was regularly published.

The greatest of all the publishers of voyages and travels were the De Bry family, who formed the Frankfort firm which issued over ninety editions of twenty-seven different narratives between 1590 and 1634. Theodor De Bry, who began the publication of these volumes, was originally an engraver, and their widespread popularity was due in large measure to the numerous full-page copper-plates used to illustrate each narrative. At first the text was really regarded as little more than an introduction to the illustrations; but the success of the earlier volumes showed that there was a public demand for books of travel quite as important as for the engravings. De Bry by catering to both interests soon made himself the most successful of all the publishers who have specialized in books of travel. These were issued in two series. The first, on larger paper than the other, the volumes measuring about fourteen inches in height, are known as the 'Grands Voyages' (the meaning being that of the words in French) and contain the accounts of the western or American Indies. The others, or 'Petit Voyages,' measure about two inches less, and are devoted to the East Indies. Each part or narrative, of both

series, was issued in Latin and also in German. Of the first of the 'Grands Voyages,' there are also French and English texts.

The collector of historical Americana early in his career learns the importance of acquiring all these series of collections of voyages, and, most of all, those with the familiar imprint of the De Bry firm. Once he is fairly in the arena of competition with rival collectors, if he be an ardent lover of the subject and of the game, he finds himself engaged in a most fascinating, illusive, far-reaching task. Parts, editions, issues, variations, each raises questions that offer new and unexpected points to maintain the interest of the quest, and place unforeseen obstacles in the way of the seeker who is persistent in his ambition to approximate completeness for his set of these monumental volumes. It is a chastening occupation, and full of lessons, of a sort that can be learned only in the school of experience.

The difficulty of completing a full set of De Bry comes from the long interval between the appearance of Part I of the 'Grands Voyages,' containing Hariot's 'Virginia,' which will be described on a later page, and the ending of the undertaking with Parts XIII and XIV of the Latin versions of the same series forty-four years afterward. During this interval, Theodor De Bry and the sons who continued his work both as engravers and publishers, all died, and the children of one of the sons, with the daughters' husbands, brought the series to its

conclusion. Meanwhile, many of the earlier parts went out of print and had to be reissued in order to supply the steady demand, which was increased as the appearance of each new part created fresh buyers anxious to possess the whole work. In many cases, also, the printers had run off the presses a larger number of certain sheets than of others belonging to the same volume, so that extra copies of the missing sections had to be provided by setting them up in type afresh, thus providing still further curiosities for the bibliographer. To complete the confusion of those who try to understand the intricacies of this perplexing subject, some of the collectors and the booksellers who catered to them seventy-five years ago, before bibliographical and collecting standards were as strict as they are now, made up copies by combining text and plates from different issues, with the idea of securing the sharpest impressions or cleanest examples, regardless of actual relationship. Altogether, the complications have become so great that most collectors frankly abandon the subject as not being worth the trouble of trying to understand it. In this they have the support of historical students whose interest is only in the text of the narratives, and to whom the search for bibliographical peculiarities appears to be merely the gratification of a dilettante's hobby. Undismayed by such opinions, the bibliographers and their allies in the collecting fraternity persist in their search, knowing well that each new varia-

tion not only brings its own satisfaction to the discoverer, but brings him also a little nearer to the solution of all the puzzles. When this is found, the whole broad subject of book-making and distribution, which underlies in large measure the history of human culture, will move one step forward. Thus the hunt goes on, and the most joyful collector is he who makes his contribution by bagging the variation which none of his rivals has captured.

Of the American parts of De Bry, the Library has three sets, each of which was the pride of its previous owner. One has on its bindings the arms of the Christie-Miller collection from Britwell Court, with additions from the E. Dwight Church and Huntington collections, making in all a set of ninety volumes. The second is the complete set of first editions of both series of the Latin Voyages formed by the elder Henry Stevens for Brayton Ives. This is not only in the finest possible condition but it contains a number of exceptionally important variations that escaped Lord Crawford, whose descriptive bibliography is still the best single guide to the knowledge of De Bry. It also has the excessively scarce general title-page, preface, and contents, known as the 'Elenchus,' which was issued by the publishers by way of notification that the series was at last ended. Lastly, there is a set of 104 volumes, each presenting a distinguishing peculiarity, brought together by the greatest living exponent of De Bry, Henry N. Stevens of London. Mr. Stevens, suc-

ceeding his father, "Henry Stevens of Vermont," has maintained with notable distinction the reputation of the name both in the book-trade and in bibliography. The father was closely associated with the foundation of the Lenox and Brown collections of Americana nearly a century ago, and both of these owe much to the son's loyal interest in them. For three quarters of a century no one else has been so closely and honorably associated with the acquisition of the source books of American history by American libraries as have these two. They have been the trusted advisers of every collector who has won a prominent position in this field.

The popular appreciation of De Bry still rests largely upon the wonderful engravings which distinguish these volumes from all the rival collections. In every case where the publisher could do so, he secured the most authentic material from which to make his illustrations and maps. Unluckily it was not always possible to get sketches or even satisfactory descriptions from which to work, and the illustrator, to avoid disappointing his patrons, perforce drew upon his imagination, guided by his stock of general information. In most of these cases, it can at least still be claimed in extenuation of the designer's shortcomings, that there is nothing better, of as early a date, to take their place. On the other hand, to the North Americanist, all the faults of the remaining parts are more than counterbalanced by the priceless pictorial record in the first

and second parts of the 'Grands Voyages.' These preserve the appearance and manner of living of the natives of the southeastern section of the United States. The De Bry Collection of Voyages is, indeed, one more in the long list of services to posterity — as well as to his contemporaries — rendered by Richard Hakluyt. It was at his suggestion that Theodor De Bry selected as the first narrative for his projected publication Thomas Hariot's 'Brief and true Report of Virginia,' and through Hakluyt's help the engraver secured the use of the drawings made by John White at Roanoke.

There are a number of abridgments or condensations of the De Bry Collection. The earliest of these is Philip Ziegler's 'America, das ist, Erfindung und Offenbahrung der Newen Welt,' issued at Frankfurt in 1617. In 1631 Johann Ludwig Gottfried brought out a 'Historia Antipodum oder Neue Welt, Das ist: Natur und Eigenschaft desz halbentheils der Erden.' Several similar publications followed at intervals, each of which found its *raison d'être* in the reproduction of the De Bry engravings, frequently from the original plates.

Levinus Hulsius of Nuremberg published the series of narratives of voyages which comes nearest to rivalling that of De Bry in the interest of collectors. He and his successors issued twenty-six parts in German, and two in Latin, between 1598 and 1650. Including the various editions, of which there were

five for the first and third parts, and variant issues, the latest dated 1663, there are at least 69 separate volumes needed to make a set complete. Of these, the Library now has 56, including the full series of first editions of each part from the Henry Huth collection. The Hulsius volumes are all small quarto in size and they are illustrated only by cuts in the text. Thus there was none of the inducement for those who bought the volumes when they were published, to preserve them, as was the case with the De Brys. In consequence of this relative insignificance in appearance, the Hulsius volumes are very much more difficult to find than those of De Bry, and anything approximating a full set is almost unattainable. On the other hand, as an editor, Hulsius was very much more discriminating than his rival. Whereas De Bry was content to take any text, however well known, provided only he could get material for illustrations, Hulsius sought out narratives that had not previously been printed. His volumes include a good deal of actual source material, especially that which relates to the Dutch East India Company and its trading posts and settlements. While this is not strictly American, it is material with which anyone studying the early history of the Western hemisphere ought to have some acquaintance if he expects to understand events in their true perspective.

The Latin texts published by De Bry satisfied the demands of French readers for collected voyages

and travels until 1663, when Melchizedec Thévenot issued the first part of his '*Relations de divers voyages curieux, qui n'ont point esté publiées, ou qui ont esté traduites d'Hacluyt, de Purchas & d'autres Voyageurs François, Espagnols, Allemands, Portugais, Anglois, Hollandois, Persans, Arabes & autres Orientaux.*' The fourth volume came out in 1672, and each of the volumes was reissued from time to time, with new title-pages, the latest dated 1696. Including copies on large paper and other peculiarities dear to bibliophiles, the French Thévenot is almost as fruitful a subject for detailed study as De Bry or Hulsius. When he died, some of the material for a fifth volume was nearly ready for publication, and this was printed in such form as to increase the intricacies of the series and make it additionally difficult to say what a satisfactory set ought to embrace. The Library has Henry Huth's copy, which is equivalent to assurance that it was the best that was to be had. In curious contrast to the monumental form of his '*Voyages curieux*' is a little octavo volume entitled '*Recueil de voyages de Mr. Thévenot,*' Paris, 1681, which is of fundamental importance to a Michigan library because to it was appended the earliest printed account of the travels of Marquette and Joliet.

Chapter VI

THE FRENCH IN NORTH AMERICA

THE line of demarcation between the period of Discovery and that of Colonization is not distinctly drawn. Colonists followed close on the heels of explorers, and many a post established as a basis for inland reconnaissance or as a centre for gathering articles of trade developed into a self-contained settlement. Fate led the Spaniards to the regions where the equivalents of European wealth, gold and silver, existed in the most easily converted forms, and where soil and climatic conditions invited the development of all that is worst in the natural tendencies of the Hispanic race. The French, having second choice, took the fur regions, where nature and the natives combined to develop the better side of their national characteristics. Englishmen had to take what was left, and got the best of all that the New World had to offer.

The lust for gold, the desire for wealth and the power which it gives, was the one all-controlling incentive that drove the representatives of each of these three rival races into the hidden corners of the earth. But the individuals who led the way were dominated in nearly every instance less by mercenary motives, except as these enabled them to se-

cure funds with which to finance their plans, than by the equally powerful inborn uneasiness at home, which forces certain men of every race to go forth and conquer the unknown. These men are the fore-runners of each generation, the guides and leaders of exploration, of discovery, of invention.

By far the larger part of what was recorded of the period of exploration was written by the representatives of another group, who were never far behind the foremost of the wanderers and the exploiters. These were the men who gave themselves up to the task of advancing the limits of the Kingdom of God. With very few, but unfortunately conspicuous, exceptions, they were animated by the most sublime motives and carried out their mission with superb self-sacrifice as well as keen intelligence. The individuals were human beings, possessed by the traits of the race of which they were born as well as by the training of the organization which had made them a part of itself. Those upon whom the American historical investigator has to depend for much of his information, for the most part labored and wrote far from the restraints and the control of civilized conditions. In the Spanish colonies, the missionaries were always involved in a two-fold controversy, between the friars and the regular clergy on the one hand, and between the rival religious orders on the other. This unending competition between these bitter rivals supplies a key to much of the history of Spain and of its colonies throughout

the centuries. New France was happier, for there, partly because there was less worth fighting for, the Society of Jesus secured a virtual monopoly of the care for religious matters, and its brethren won well-nigh universal respect and praise for their self-sacrificing devotion and unflinching courage in carrying the Gospel of Christianity, as they knew it, to the outermost limits.

In considering the books which deal with the development of the French interests in North America, it is interesting, for the moment, to shift the point of view from the general to the local, and see how these appear to one whose home and interests are in the State of Michigan.

Etienne Brulé, who accompanied Champlain on his expedition to Georgian Bay in 1618, and later visited the region adjoining Lake Superior, made reports which are incorporated in the volumes of Champlain and of Sagard. Jean Nicolet, a member of Champlain's "Hundred Associates," found the way to Lake Huron and was the first to view Lake Michigan. Continuing westward along the Wisconsin River, he came almost to the Mississippi. His story is told in part in the 'Jesuit Relations' for 1640 and 1643, two volumes in the long series which will be described in a later paragraph.

Michigan history, as recorded by the earliest French visitors, begins with the carefully made notes of Peter Esprit Radisson, who set down what he saw and did in his wanderings in the territory of

the present Michigan and Wisconsin, going as far west as the Mississippi, and through the Lake Superior regions well toward Hudson's Bay. Between 1652 and 1664 he made four journeys from the Canadian outposts, accompanied by his brother-in-law, the *Sieur des Groseilliers*. The important details from the reports of these explorers were consolidated by the Jesuit Father Charlevoix, who embodied portions of Radisson's manuscript notes in the three volumes of his '*Histoire et description generale de la Nouvelle France, avec le Journal Historique d'un voyage fait par l'ordre du Roi dans l'Amérique Septentrionale*' printed at Paris in 1744. Of this important work there is an excellent translation by John Gilmary Shea, in six volumes, New York, 1866-72. To these two comparatively unknown French adventurers must be given the credit of originating the idea of forming a settlement on Hudson's Bay, out of which the English genius for organization developed the great fur company that still dominates the northeastern part of the continent.

Portions of the original manuscript of Radisson's narrative have been preserved at the British Museum and in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. The manuscript formed a part of the library of the great diarist, Samuel Pepys, who secured it from the Sir George Carteret of his time. After the death of Pepys, some of the Radisson notes were thrown out as waste paper, but the remainder were luckily pre-

served and later came into the possession of Richard Rawlinson, whose great collection in turn passed into the British Museum. They cover the years from 1652 to 1664, and have been published in a volume of the Prince Society, of whose publications the Library has the full series.

The early maps of the Great Lakes are of the utmost importance to students of the history of Michigan. The earliest were drawn by Champlain and were published in the successive editions of his *Voyages*. Next in date comes another manuscript map, in the Archives de la Marine at Paris. This is the earliest of the twenty important manuscript maps in the French archives of which full-sized photographic copies have been made for the Library. The 'Jesuit Relation' for 1670-71 contains a well-defined map of the Lake Superior region. The Creuxius map, 'Tabula Nova Francia,' is dated 1660, and includes not only the northern Lake region but Hudson's Bay as well.

The coming of Comte Louis de Buade de Frontenac to Canada in 1672, as Governor and Lieutenant-General, marks the beginning of an epoch in aggressive undertakings for the discovery of the vast countries far to the west of those then known. The establishment of forts and trading posts followed close on the trail of exploration. Frontenac's associates were the men whom we now regard as the true discoverers of the vast region east of the Mississippi River, and even beyond, the lower part of the

territory which was a little later known as Louisiana in New France. The northern limits of exploration extended as far as Hudson's Bay. These men were Louis Joliet, who preceded the coming of Frontenac by three years, Father Jacques Marquette, and Robert Cavelier de La Salle.

The ambitions of Frontenac were ably supported by the equally ambitious La Salle. Fort Frontenac was built, and La Salle was sent to France in 1674 for the purpose of securing authority, funds, and men for a scheme for colonizing the vast areas in the valley of the Mississippi, and exploring the countries adjacent to the Great Lakes. He soon returned, bringing with him Henri Tonti and some thirty men — shipbuilders and adventurers. La Salle went to France again two years later, and brought back with him Father Louis Hennepin. The account of the building of the famous ship, the "Griffin," at the port below Niagara Falls, by La Salle, Tonti, and their shipbuilders, sixteen in number, possibly assisted by the Franciscan Hennepin, is a well-known tale of the Great Lakes. The sailing of the "Griffin" up the Lakes, the shipwreck on the return voyage, the separation of La Salle and Tonti, and finally their meeting again at the St. Joseph River, the southeastern corner of Lake Michigan, are tales of true adventure.

The expeditions and incidental discoveries of these two men during the years 1680 to 1682, are the most important of their careers. Whether or

not they were preceded by Marquette in traversing this region, in making the portages between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi, or in sailing down the latter river to the Gulf, they made good the claim of France to the Valley of the Mississippi, from that time named Louisiana. La Salle demonstrated that the great area he had traversed could be reached through the Gulf of Mexico, and upon this discovery his future ambitions were based. He returned to Quebec in 1683 and to Paris in 1684, and in an interview with Louis XIV made known his plans, which were warmly supported by the king. The result was a new and larger expedition for the purpose of fortifying the mouth of the Mississippi and subjugating the nearby Spanish colonies. In this he was joined by Henri Joutel, upon whose account we rely chiefly for the events of the expedition, which sailed in July, 1684. It is unnecessary to dwell upon the disastrous end of this voyage and the murder of La Salle by his associates in 1687.

The earliest comprehensive account of these events was printed at Paris in 1691, in Father Chrestien Le Clercq's '*Premier Établissement de la Foy dans la Nouvelle France, contenant la publication de l'Évangile, l'Histoire des Colonies Françaises, & les fameuses découvertes depuis le fleuve de Saint Laurent, la Louisiane, & le fleuve Colbert jusqu'au Golphe du Mexique.*' The work was written by Father Anastase Douay, but the accuracy of his statements was certified by Father

Le Clercq, by whose name the book is always known. In 1697 at Paris Tonti published '*Dernieres découvertes dans l'Amerique Septentrionale de M. de La Sale.*' Joutel, the official chronicler of the final expedition, did not get into print until 1713, in a volume entitled '*Journal historique du dernier voyage que feu M. de La Sale fit dans la Golfe de Mexique, pour trouver l'embouchure & le cours de la rivière de Missicipi,*' Paris, 1713. An English version of this volume appeared at London the next year. These contain only an abridgment of the journal kept by Joutel, which was luckily preserved in manuscript, and eventually printed at London in 1879 by Pierre Margry in his '*Découvertes.*' The Caxton Club of Chicago issued in 1898 a new English version of these narratives of La Salle, Tonti, and Joutel.

One ambition of Frontenac was to plant the flag of France far beyond the Lakes toward the northwest. Louis Joliet was commissioned to do this. The missionary Jacques Marquette joined him, and together they reached the Mississippi, following the stream down its course until they came to the Illinois portage. The maps of Joliet, of which the Library has copies photographed from the original manuscripts in the Paris archives, show the extent of territory covered by this expedition. These maps and the accompanying reports giving an account of the prairies, forests, and animals of these regions, are the earliest extant description of what is now the states of Minnesota and Wisconsin.

The account of the expedition sent by Marquette to Frontenac remained in manuscript until it was printed by Margry in 1879. The first printed account of the discovery of the Mississippi appeared in the '*Récueil de Voyages*' of Thévenot, Paris, 1681. This was also issued separately with the title '*Voyage et decouverte de quelques pays et nations de l'Amerique Septentrionale par le P. Marquette et Sr. Joliet.*' The map which accompanies this volume is the earliest that shows the course of the river with any accuracy. This narrative had already been used by Father Dablon for his annual report, but by this time the series of regular volumes containing the '*Relations*' of the missionaries in Canada had ceased, and Dablon's report was not printed until 1861. Marquette died on his way to the mission of St. Ignace, at a point on the eastern shore of Lake Michigan near St. Joseph. The event is described in the '*Jesuit Relation*' for 1675.

The expeditions and discoveries of Daniel Greysolon de Lhut, who had made two voyages to New France as early as 1674, and in 1679 penetrated into the Sioux country beyond Lake Superior, planting the French flag farther west than any of his contemporaries, made him the earliest European visitor to the present Minnesota. His '*Memoire*' of 1683 was printed at Paris in 1872 by Henri Harrisse in his '*Notes pour servir à l'histoire, à la bibliographie et à la cartographie de la Nouvelle-France.*' The substance of it appeared, however, in Hennepin's

'Description de la Louisiane,' in 1683. This may also be found, together with the principal facts about the other exploring expeditions throughout the region of the Great Lakes, in Charlevoix's 'Histoire de la Nouvelle France,' Paris, 1744.

In reviewing the important source material for the history of New France, frequent reference has been made to the 'Jesuit Relations.' In gathering these little volumes containing the annual reports of the missionaries in America, it is fortunate, and an unusual condition, that here both the historian's and the collector's ambitions harmonize. Both are intensely interested in securing the complete file for a long series of years. Historically and geographically, for a study of the period and region, they are of the greatest importance. For the collector of rare books and for the bibliographer, the search is one of engrossing interest, but disappointment is certain, for there is nowhere a complete collection of these Jesuit tracts in any single library. There are in the Library forty-eight of the regular series of the 'Relations,' extending over the years from 1632 to 1672. The only years missing are the first (1632), 1656, and 1660. For several of the years there is more than one edition or issue. In addition to these, it has the Italian text of Father Bressani's 'Breve Relatione,' with the imprint 'Macerata, 1653.' A bulletin describing this set of the 'Relations' was printed by the Library in 1921.

Several of the 'Relations' written after 1672,

when the annual series of volumes printed by Cramoisy at Paris stopped, were issued in limited editions, usually of twenty-five copies only, during the third quarter of the nineteenth century. Eight of these were distributed privately by James Lenox or E. B. O'Callaghan, and twenty-five were issued by Rev. James Gilmary Shea, the Catholic historian. The regular series were reprinted at Quebec in three solid volumes in 1853; an edition that at once became rare, as most of the copies were destroyed by fire. The definitive edition appeared, 1896 to 1901, under the editorship of Reuben Gold Thwaites of the Wisconsin Historical Society, in twenty-three volumes, with English translations, and adequate bibliographical notes by Victor Hugo Paltsits.

The earliest historical account of the work of these Jesuit missionaries is in Le Clercq's '*Premier Établissement de la Foy.*' This is distinctly prejudiced against the Jesuits, as the author's purpose was to exalt the work of his brethren of the Recollect Order. Three other books may be mentioned in this connection; P. Claude Martin's '*Lettres de la venerable Mère Marie de l'Incarnation,*' Paris, 1681; '*Histoire générale de la naissance, des progrès, et la destruction de la Compagnie de Jésus en France,*' Paris, 1763; and August Carayon's '*Bibliographie historique de la Compagnie de Jésus,*' Paris, 1864.

We are not concerned here with Louis Hennepin as a controversialist, who indulged in wordy dis-

putes with La Salle, with the Jesuits, and finally with the Recollects, of whose Order he was a member when he came to America. The first to accuse him of falsehood and plagiarism was Charlevoix, but as he was a Jesuit, this might be explained. With the exception of Dr. Shea, no later critic attempts to reëstablish Hennepin's reputation as a truthful narrator, after the publication of his earliest work, the 'Description de la Louisiane,' which appeared at Paris in 1683. This is ordinarily accepted as a truthful document.

Hennepin, after this book came out, refused to return to America. He thereby incurred the discipline of his Order and was obliged to leave France. At Utrecht he republished the 'Description,' and translations of this came out in Dutch, German, and Italian. In 1697 he issued an enlarged work with the title 'Nouvelle Découverte d'une très Grand Pays situé dans l'Amerique entre le Nouveau Mexique et la Mer Glaciale,' Utrecht, 1697. The first Utrecht edition was promptly followed by one with an Amsterdam imprint the next year, and the first Dutch translation came out at the same place a year later, followed by another at Leyden in 1704. It is in this work that the alleged mendacity appears. Hennepin, forced out of his religious order and compelled to make a living by his pen, utilized his knowledge of the New World and such reputation as came from his 'Louisiane,' to produce a book of travels that would sell to the reading public. The

success of the work, as evidenced by the rapid succession of editions in many languages, must have exceeded his highest hopes. He wrote an interesting book, securing success by presenting the narrative as if everything was the outcome of his own experiences. Accuracy in essential facts he secured by appropriating La Salle's discovery of the Mississippi, copying Father Membrés' journal of the trip from Le Clercq's 'Premier Établissement,' although in this he anticipated events and confused historians by carrying the exploration down the whole length of the river to its mouth.

Hennepin's third and final work was a 'Nouveau Voyage d'un Pais plus grand que l'Europe. Avec les réflexions des entreprises du Sieur de La Salle.' This was printed at Utrecht in 1698. It is largely made up from Le Clercq, with substantial additions from other books. About the same time he prepared for English readers a work entitled 'A New Discovery of a vast country in America,' which was printed at London in 1698. This was produced by combining portions of the 'Nouveau Voyage' with parts of the earlier 'Nouvelle Découverte,' thus giving a fresh version of certain events that completely mystified many historical students who did not perceive that they were dealing with historical fiction under one of its familiar forms.

Lahontan is another writer whose name is frequently associated with that of Hennepin. Equally unreliable in certain sections of his narrative, La-

hontan was never a plagiarist or a slanderer. His imagination made him a prince of American fabricators, but he frequently told the exact truth when there was no object in lying. His statements about what passed before his own eyes are usually trustworthy. When he drew a map, his imagination, assisted by the reports of the Indians whom he talked with but whom he presumably could not understand accurately, supplied the course for his notorious 'River Longue' extending to the Rocky Mountains, the reality of which was accepted until the time of Charlevoix. Even as late as 1733 the influence of this river can be seen on the map in Popple's celebrated Atlas, of which the Library has Count Talleyrand's copy, with his autograph signature on the title-page. Yet it must be said in full justice to the Baron Lahontan that the earlier part of his book, including the account of his experiences at Fort St. Joseph and the upper lakes, as well as the descriptions of Indian life, is generally admitted to be quite true. His book is well written and abounds in great humor and in sarcasm worthy of Pepys himself.

The immense circulation of the books written by Hennepin and Lahontan, and the resultant influence of the popularity of which this is the evidence, is shown by the large number of editions, in all the European languages, through which they passed. It is a favorite occupation of the collectors of Americana to specialize on these two authors and gather

as many of the editions as possible. To the student whose interest stops with the event recorded, and who lacks imagination to realize that the important thing is not the event itself, but the consequences that follow from it, all these various editions are meaningless. Any one of them, provided the text is intact, would do as well as another. There are other investigators who perceive that the real significance of any event lies in the influence it had upon contemporary opinion and action. Many extraordinary things have occurred in every epoch, which ought to have produced equally important results, but of which the most that can be said is that nobody paid any attention to them. Historical researchers have delighted to exhume the details of such happenings, and many volumes have been written to elucidate what might have been. One of the functions of such a library as this, is to help in restoring the balance of historical judgment by providing the evidence of contemporary publications through which the student can find out, not only what happened in the past, but what the contemporaries of the event thought about it and about the participants in it. Nothing reveals more clearly what the European public knew about North America during the first half of the eighteenth century than a shelf full of editions of Hennepin and Lahontan. The Library has secured the earliest editions of each of these publications, and a representative assortment of the subsequent issues and transla-

tions. No single library has yet attained actual completeness for any of these popular authors, but there are excellent bibliographies from which the range of their influence can be studied. For Hennepin, the list compiled by Eames for Sabin's 'Dictionary of American Books' has been supplemented by Shea and Livingston. Paltsits prepared a bibliography of Lahontan for Thwaites's 1905 English version of the original. Of the twenty-nine editions described by him, the Library has already nineteen, all but one printed between 1703 and 1741.

An examination of the Hakluyt-Martyr map prepared for the edition of the 'De Orbe Novo,' printed at Paris in 1587, or the even more famous Molyneux map, which was begun about that time but not published until ten years later, when it was sometimes included in Hakluyt's 'Principal Navigations' of 1598-1600, proves that by the end of the seventeenth century the coast line of both North and South America had been outlined with approximate correctness. Vast sections of the interior were still unvisited, and of many regions there were not even trustworthy reports, but from Hudson's Bay around to Vancouver the main features of the two continents had been determined in all essential details as they appear on the maps to-day. The Period of Discovery had passed into its final stages by the end of the sixteenth century, but it was not until a hundred years later that the geographers succeeded in assimilating the results of observation.

Chapter VII

VIRGINIA

ENGLISH people always delight in extolling the daring adventures of Sir Francis Drake, and with even greater enthusiasm they love to dwell upon the romance in the life of Sir Walter Raleigh — his bravery in the adventures that befell him as soldier and sailor, as courtier and statesman, ever ready to play his part in glorious deeds, renowned as one of the most picturesque figures in the history of England and America. His life ended on the scaffold, where he met death with never-failing composure, to satisfy the selfish and bigoted whim of the first Stuart who disgraced the British throne — a lasting shame to the England of that time. We view the close of his career, which had as little reprehensible in it as could be, with a feeling of indignation that the great Lord Bacon, so capable of nobler things, should after his beheading write 'A Declaration of the Demeanor and Carriage of Sir Walter Raleigh' — a defence of King James so grossly misrepresenting Raleigh that it serves only to emphasize the "damnation of his taking off."

Raleigh was a pioneer in the cause of English colonization. He was not favored with success in

any of the expeditions which he fathered, yet his very disasters served to create and to stimulate the spirit of adventurous enterprise which gave Great Britain in later years her many colonies. And it was one of his expeditions which first landed English colonists on the south Atlantic coast of North America, and gave this region the name of Virginia.

His first trans-Atlantic voyage, on which Raleigh proved himself as good a sailor as he had been a soldier, was undertaken with his half-brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, in 1578. This led him to formulate more elaborate plans for colonization. From Queen Elizabeth he received in 1584 a charter under which he designed to plant a settlement north of Spanish Florida. A voyage of reconnoissance made a landing not far from Chesapeake Bay, and such favorable reports of the country were carried back to London that the "Virgin Queen" allowed it to be christened in honor of her maiden state. Extensive preparations for establishing a colony in this region were quickly completed, with Ralph Lane in charge of the settlers and Sir Richard Grenville as master of the fleet that was to transport them. The party was put ashore on Roanoke Island, where a fortification was erected. Attempts at exploration of the mainland nearby led to troubles with the natives. The settlers exhausted their supplies and were reduced to famine rations, so that they were glad to accept the offer of a homeward trip to England with Sir Francis Drake, who by a lucky chance

looked in on the settlement as he was returning from sacking the Spaniards at San Domingo, Cartagena, and St. Augustine. Two of the colonists took back with them precious evidence that they had not been idle. One was Raleigh's close friend, the mathematician Thomas Hariot, a careful observer and accurate writer; the other was the artist John White.

Hariot's account of the country was printed in a small quarto tract which is the *pièce de résistance* for historians as well as for book-collectors who are interested in Anglo-American colonization. I prefer to let Henry Stevens explain its importance, quoting from his little book on 'Thomas Hariot and his Associates,' printed in 1890: "Collectors of rare English books always speak reverently and even mysteriously of the 'quarto Hariot,' as they do of the 'First Folio.' It is given to but few of them ever to touch or to see it, for not more than seven copies are at present known to exist. Even four of these are locked up in public libraries whence they are never likely to pass into private hands. One copy is in the Grenville Library; another is in the Bodleian; a third slumbers in the University of Leyden; a fourth is in the Lenox Library; a fifth in Lord Taunton's; a sixth in the late Henry Huth's; and a seventh [was sold] in 1883 in the Drake sale.

"The little quarto volume of Hariot's Virginia is as important as it is rare, and as beautiful as it is important. Few English books of its time, 1588,

surpass it either in typographic execution or literary merit. . . .

"Hariot's 'True Report' is usually considered the first original authority in our language relating to that part of English North America now called the United States, and is indeed so full and trustworthy that almost everything of a primeval character that we know of 'Ould Virginia' may be traced back to it as to a first parent. It is an integral portion of English history, for England supplied the enterprise and the men. It is equally an integral portion of American history, for America supplied the scene and the material. . . .

"Raleigh's Virginia soon faded, but her portrait to the life is to be found in Hariot's book, especially when taken with the pictures by Captain John White. . . . Hariot and White have left us . . . their picturesque account of the savage life and lavish nature of pre-Anglo-Virginia, the like of which we look for in vain elsewhere, either in Spanish, French, or English colonization.

"Indeed, nearly all we know of the uncontaminated American aborigines, their mode of life and domestic economy, is derived from this book, and therefore its influence and results as an original authority cannot well be overestimated. We have many Spanish and French books of a kindred character, but none so lively and life-like as this by Hariot."

And again Stevens says: "This book of Hariot's

with Laudonnière's Florida, taken in connection with Captain John White's and Jacques Le Moyne's pictures, as reproduced by Theodore De Bry in 1590 and 1591, in the first two parts of his celebrated Collection of Voyages, affords at this day more authentic materials for the early history of the Atlantic Coast of North America, from the River of May to the Chesapeake, than any other portion of the New World, Spanish or English, can boast of."

When a copy of Hariot's famous little book was offered in the Henry Huth auction sale of 1913, a bid was made for it on behalf of the Library, but the successful purchaser was the almost equally famous bookseller, Bernard Quaritch of London. From him it was eventually secured by private negotiation a year later. The text of the tract was reprinted in 1590 by Theodore De Bry of Frankfort, as the initial volume of what was to become the most important of all the published Collections of Voyages. It is the only narrative of De Bry's great series which was issued in English and French as well as in Latin and German. The Library has all four of these; the English copy was formerly Lord Taunton's, acquired in 1920.

Raleigh spent the greater part of his fortune in a succession of attempts to colonize Virginia and to retrieve his losses by finding the rumored El Dorado up the Orinoco. The story of his own voyage to South America in 1595 is told in 'The Discoverie

of the Large, Rich, and Beautiful Empyre of Guiana,' printed at London in 1596. A second voyage was equally unsuccessful under his lieutenant Lawrence Keymis, whose 'Relation' of his adventures was printed before the end of the same year. With these narratives should be compared, by those who wish to know more of one of the great figures of Elizabethan England, the 'History of the World,' written by Raleigh after King James had confined him to the Tower — a record of industry under conditions that would have unnerved an ordinary man.

The failures of Raleigh served but to whet the British appetite for possession of the wonderful land described by Hariot. In 1606, Richard Hakluyt, Sir Thomas Gates, and Sir Richard Somers secured from the Crown a grant under which they sent out three vessels commanded by Christopher Newport, Bartholomew Gosnold, and John Radcliffe. With them was the redoubtable Captain John Smith, who, so he says, selected the spot, about fifty miles up-stream on a river which they named the James, on which they resolved to build a town which they christened Jamestown. Captain Smith's 'True Relation of such Occurences and Accidents of Noate, as hath hapned in Virginia, since the first Planting of that Collony, which is now Resident in the South Part thereof, till the last Returne from thence,' was published at London in 1608. It gives a detailed account, which is regarded

as essentially reliable, and is the source of such information as the general public at that time possessed of the hardships and well-nigh actual starvation endured by the colonists during the first year at Jamestown. This is the rarest of Smith's many writings, and the Library's copy of this, as well as of several other Virginia tracts, came from Britwell Court, where the Christie-Miller library had its home.

Captain John Smith left Virginia, never to return, in September, 1609. Although he made a later voyage to the New England coast, and wrote of his adventures there and elsewhere, it is as the folk-hero of Virginia that we all think of him. Without his books and maps, much of the romance of that first Anglo-American colony would not exist. Smith was about twenty-eight years of age when in Virginia, and had already seen enough of the world to provide himself with material for tales of adventure sufficient to satisfy an ordinary lifetime. From 1606 to the time of his death in 1631, nine tracts or larger volumes were published by him or in his name, all but two of which relate to the American settlements. Several of these passed through more than one edition or issue. Altered title-pages and changes in the text, as well as the addition of new data on the maps which were made to accompany his publications, make these a subject of the first importance in bibliographical circles, calling for the widest information and the keenest critical acumen

on the part of anyone who undertakes to elucidate their intricacies.

Smith's 'True Relation' of Virginia, previously mentioned, appeared with three different title-pages, — three "issues" of the same work, — with changes the reason for which calls for explanation. In 1612 came the so-called "Oxford tract," entitled 'A Map of Virginia. With a Description of the country.' This map is found in eight different states or conditions; the Library's copy is one of three on record as being on this side of the Atlantic, of the first or earliest of these states, before Smith's arms, motto, and date were engraved on the plate. This tract, as well as the map, was later embodied in his 'Generall Historie,' and again, with some alterations, in Purchas's 'Pilgrimes.' The "Oxford tract" was followed by Smith's 'Description of New England,' London, 1616, which was also accompanied by a map, of which more will be said later. His next publication was 'New Englands Trials,' printed in 1620 and reprinted in 1622.

Smith's most important work, into which he incorporated the text of his lesser writings on the colonies, excepting the 'True Relation,' was 'The generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles; with the names of the Adventurers, Planters and Governours from their first beginning An^o: 1584 to this present 1624. With the Proceedings of those Severall Colonies and the Accidents that befell them in all their Journyes and Discoveries.

WITHDRAWN

Also the Maps and Descriptions of all those Countreyes, their Commodities, People, Government, Customs, and Religion yet knowne.' Published first in 1624, it was reissued in 1626, 1627, and twice in 1632; of these the Library has the first and the last two. It is rarely that the 1624 edition can be seen, as here, in its original vellum covers and latchets, with the early states of the maps and plates, and the portrait of the Duchess of Richmond, always desired by collectors. The first of the 1632 issues came from the library of Samuel Wegg, one of the early officers of the Hudson Bay Company, and has his bookplate.

The 'Generall Historie' was supplemented in 1630 by 'The True Travels, Adventures, and Observations of Captaine John Smith, In Europe, Asia, Affrica, and America, from Anno Domini 1593 to 1629.' In 1631, the year of Smith's death, appeared his 'Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters of New-England, or anywhere. Or, the Path-way to experience to erect a Plantation.' Both are in the Library.

George Sandys translating Ovid's 'Metamorphoses' into English verse on the banks of the James River is one of the most picturesque figures among the earliest colonists. It was, in Professor Tyler's phrase, the first "expression of elaborate poetry, the first utterance of the conscious literary spirit, articulated in America." The work of this officer of the Company was so well done that it at-

tained immediate recognition in England, and passed through eight editions before the end of the seventeenth century. In the first edition, printed at London in 1626, and dedicated to King Charles, Sandys refers with much feeling to the disasters in the American colony. The Library's copy, the second edition of 1632, is the largest of many examined, bound in contemporary calf, with elaborate tooling of the period. It is a beautiful volume, and contains the handsome armorial bookplate of Bridgewater House. On the title-page is the signature of J. Brackley. The first Viscount Brackley was Sir Thomas Egerton, afterwards Baron Ellesmere, and founder of the renowned Bridgewater Library. John, the second Viscount Brackley, who wrote his name on this title-page, was the second son of Sir Thomas; he was afterwards Earl of Bridgewater, and a friend of Milton.

Tyler remarks: "John Milton was born into life, and the first American book of literature was born into print, in the same year, and almost on the same spot." That same patron of Milton and of learning must have appreciated the work of Sandys to have honored it by his signature and by so handsome a binding.

Richard Hakluyt's contribution toward the success of the infant colony was published in 1609, with the title 'Virginia richly valued, by the description of the Maineland of Florida, her next neighbour.' This tract is the rarest of Hakluyt's works,

and the Library's copy is unusually large and in fine preservation. Another tract that appeared at this time and likewise at Hakluyt's instigation was a translation from Lescarbot, entitled 'Nova Francia or the Description of that part of New France which is one continent with Virginia,' London, 1609.

Later happenings in the colony were narrated in a succession of tracts that appeared in 1609, such as: 'Nova Britannia, offering most excellent fruites by Planting in Virginia'; 'A Good Speed to Virginia'; and a sermon by William Symonds before the London Company of Virginia Adventurers. Another important sermon was published the next year, following its delivery before Lord Delaware, upon his leaving for America, by William Crashaw. Likewise dated 1610 is 'A True Declaration of the Estate of the colonie in Virginia,' which is important because it was written for the purpose of advocating the abandonment of the project. Lord Delaware arrived at Jamestown in 1610, and the account of his year's administration is told in 'The Relation of the Right Honourable the Lord De La Warre, Lord Governour and Captaine Generall of the Colonie, planted in Virginia.' This tract was issued by authority of the "Counsell" in 1611, and gives an accurate account of how the colony was organized and governed at this time. Robert Johnson's 'The new Life of Virginea, declaring the former successe and present estate of that planta-

tion,' printed in 1612, appeared as the 'Second part of Nova Britannia.' Alexander Whitaker's 'Good Newes from Virginia,' printed in 1613, was written by a parson and has the merit of giving a truthful picture of the country, its climate and natives, intermingled with thoughts suitable for a sermon. All the above are in the Library.

The story was continued by the secretary of the colony, Ralph Hamor, in 'A true Discourse of the Present Estate of Virginia and the successe of the affaire there till the 18 of June, 1614,' printed at London in 1615. Hamor's narrative, which was reprinted by both De Bry and Hulsius in their 'Collections,' marks the turning point in the fortunes of the colony, and the real beginning of a permanent settlement. Lists of immigrants and of venturers whose money was invested in the enterprise were printed at London in 1620, in 'A Declaration of the State of the colony and affairs in Virginia.'

There were periodical signs of a revival of interest in the Virginia colony, in subsequent years. In 1649 William Bullock somewhat hurriedly prepared a tract as an incentive and guide for prospective settlers, entitled 'Virginia impartially examined, and left to publick view, to be considered by all judicious and honest men.' Bullock never crossed the Atlantic, but he proved himself a skillful compiler from the writings of Smith and the others already mentioned, as well as an intelligent interviewer of sea-captains. The Huth copy is in the Library.

A number of tracts on the planting of mulberry trees and the culture of silkworms reveal one of the ways to an easy fortune which were offered as an inducement to those who were thinking of removing to America. Among these the most important is Samuel Hartlib's 'The Reformed Virginian Silkworm, or A rare and new discovery of a speedy way, and easie means . . . for the feeding of Silk-worms in the Woods, on the Mulberry-Tree-leaves in Virginia: Who after fourty days time, present their most rich golden-coloured silken Fleece, to the instant wonderful enriching of all the Planters there, requiring from them neither cost, labour, or hindrance in any of their other employments whatsoever,' London, 1655.

Another important book, which shows how the limits of the colony were being extended, appeared at London in 1672, 'The Discoveries of John Lederer, in three several marches from Virginia.'

Virginia historical literature abounds in tracts relating to specific and important events, such as Bacon's Rebellion and the resulting troubles with the Indians, and a succession of civil controversies, in which the political are inextricably mingled with economic factors. These tracts are of the utmost rarity, frequently surviving in a single known copy, but they have almost all been reprinted in 'Force's Tracts' or in the publications of one or another historical society. These later publications are of the highest importance to historical investigators,

and the University possesses most of them, either in this or in the General Library. Copies of the originals are by no means altogether lacking, for here may be found the 'Strange Newes from Virginia' of 1677, and Sir Thomas Grantham's 'An Historical Account of some memorable Actions, particularly in Virginia,' London, 1716, written in reply to a proclamation by the tyrannical Governor Berkeley, and others. None of these "occasional" tracts is of greater significance or fuller of material of permanent historical value than 'The Present State of Virginia and the College,' by Hartwell, Blair, and Chilton, an invaluable exposition of the state of affairs in the colony as presented by the President of William and Mary College and two of his close friends in 1727.

The earliest of the eighteenth-century Virginia publications was Robert Beverley's 'The History and Present State of Virginia,' London, 1705, the first genuine history after that of John Smith. Beverley reprinted largely from Hariot and others, without pretending to make original researches, as was customary with historical authors of his time; but Professor Moses Coit Tyler in his 'History of American Literature' states that the work possesses considerable literary merit. In 1728 appeared William Keith's 'History of Virginia.' This was planned to be the first of a series of volumes on the British Plantations in America; but the Society for the Encouragement of Learning, under whose patron-

age the work was begun, failed to carry the project beyond the Virginia volume. The text leans altogether upon Beverley. The Library's copy consists of the untrimmed sheets in the original paper wrapper, preserved in a slip case, with the two maps, of America and Virginia.

The next general history was a work of real merit, containing the text of original charters and extracts from the early records. This 'History of the First Discovery and Settlement of Virginia,' by William Stith, was printed in the colony, at Williamsburg, in 1747.

Just at the moment of transition from colonial to independent conditions, Thomas Jefferson printed privately at Paris a volume which will always have great interest to the bibliographer and collector as well as to the historian. Its title exactly describes it as 'Notes on the state of Virginia written in the year 1781, somewhat corrected and enlarged in the winter of 1782, for the use of a foreigner of distinction.' The edition must have been a small one. Copies were sent by Jefferson to a limited number of his correspondents, in confidence, for their information and criticisms. The volume has biographical as well as historical value, because Jefferson felt free to express many opinions on subjects only remotely connected with the economic and political matters with which he was primarily concerned.

In 1804 the first volume of John Daly Burk's 'History of Virginia, from its first settlement to

the present day' was published at Petersburg, Virginia; the fourth and last, which is ordinarily missing from sets of the work, was issued by Skelton Jones and L. H. Girardin in 1816. Burk, who was killed in a duel in 1808, used the early Company Records freely, as well as the books of preceding historians. The fourth volume is particularly valuable as one of the earliest histories of the American Revolution, embodying a good deal of material which was then available relating to the war and political developments in the southern colonies. Other histories of Virginia, of relatively little value, although not to be entirely neglected, were the work of John Wilson Campbell, published in 1813, and of his son, Charles Campbell, whose 'Introduction to the History of the Ancient Dominion,' printed in 1847, was expanded into a substantial volume that brought the narrative to the close of the Revolutionary War, and appeared in the year that marked the end of another epoch — 1860.

Chapter VIII

THE PILGRIMS AND PLYMOUTH IN NEW ENGLAND

BY the year 1620 the Virginians at Jamestown had overcome most of the hardships incidental to the foundation of a settlement in a strange land and among hostile natives. The colonists had begun to raise crops to supply their own needs as well as for export to the mother country. The adventurers in the enterprise, who belonged to the liberal party in Parliament, were successful men of influence in business and in political circles.

On the other hand, the Charter for a colony in the northern portion of the territory claimed by the English crown was controlled by men to whom Fate had been anything but kind. Tentative efforts had brought nothing but failure, and the organization was lifeless, except for the persistence of Sir Ferdinando Gorges. He had spent his fortune in venturesome enterprises, but was still willing to involve himself financially, in his enthusiasm and in the confident belief that a profitable return could yet be won from the northern region that had been granted to him and his associates.

In 1620 those who remained of the old Company, under the name of The Council for New England,

asked for a new charter, which was granted late in that year. A bitter controversy over fishing, trading, and mining rights ensued between the two sections of the original Company, personified in Gorges and Sir Edwin Sandys of Virginia. Finally, after inadequate resources and incompetent agents had produced complete chaos in its affairs, the Council resolved to divide the whole territory among the individual patentees. The scheme, which never went into effect, is shown on a most interesting map prepared by Sir William Alexander in the year 1623 and reissued as 'The Map and Description of New England,' London, 1630.

In the meantime an important event had happened. By some fateful chance, the *Mayflower* and her precious cargo had touched the coast of Cape Cod, and the brave Pilgrim band had decided upon Plymouth harbor for their settlement. They had sailed from Southampton armed with a patent which authorized them to settle within the northern limits of the Charter given to the London or South Virginia Company; when they landed some two hundred miles north of its boundary, this patent was worthless. In apparent ignorance of charter rights and exclusive privileges, or of geographical location, as well as of the disputes between the two groups of adventurers in England, the voyagers made their decision to stay where they found themselves, and in December, 1620, a permanent effort at colonization in New England began.

The temptation is strong to dwell at length upon the story of these people, called Nonconformists, Brownists, Separatists, but best known as the Pilgrim Fathers of New England, and upon the books which reveal their religious ideas. Their theological creed was hard, unflinching Calvinism. No one can foresee what might have developed if they had found themselves, as their grant provided, under the jurisdiction of the southern Virginian colony, for their ideals of life and ideas of kingly prerogatives and of administrative laws differed widely from those of the Jamestown people. The latter have been called Cavaliers, because they tried to reproduce the free and unreflecting manner of life and the social standards of the Cavalier class of Stuart England. The New Englanders were known as "Roundheads" in contrast. They were made up largely from the yeomanry class, and their standards called for a life of seriousness and religious order.

The region to which the name of New England is given was first described by John Brereton in 'A briefe and true Relation of the discoverie of the north part of Virginia; being a most pleasant, fruitfull and commodious soile: Made this present yeere 1602 by Captaine Bartholomew Gosnold, Captaine Bartholowmew Gilbert, and divers other gentlemen, by the permission of the honourable knight, Sir Walter Raleigh.' This was the earliest expedition sent to the New England coast with the idea of forming a permanent settlement. The landing was

on Cuttyhunk Island at the entrance to Buzzard's Bay, and a monument now marks the site of Gosnold's fort, whose outlines, or what is believed to be the outlines, could be traced until recent years. One of Brereton's companions on this voyage was James Rosier, who returned to this region three years later with Captain George Weymouth and made a land-fall on the coast of Maine. Rosier wrote the account of this "most prosperous voyage," which was printed immediately upon his return to London. These two little pamphlets, by Brereton and Rosier, which were long ago dubbed "The Verie Two Eyes of New-England Historie," of the greatest historical importance and well-nigh priceless to the book-collector, are rarely to be met with side by side. They have been brought together here, one from the Alfred T. White (previously S. Simon) library and the other from Britwell Court.

The northern section of the original Virginia was called New-England for the first time in print, in the tract entitled 'A description of New-England,' by Captain John Smith, printed in 1616. Smith examined the coast from the Penobscot River to Cape Cod, entering nearly all the bays and inlets and preserving careful notes of his observations, with the result that the map which should accompany this tract is "the first thoroughly accurate map of Massachusetts Bay." The Library has the book in its original limp vellum, with the arms of William Douglas on the sides, and the map in the sixth of

the nine different states through which it passed. Another copy of the map, in the Library's earliest issue of Smith's 'Generall Historie,' is one of three perfect copies recorded as in this country of the first of these states — one of the others being in New York and the other at San Gabriel, California.

Other accounts of this region as it was known before the arrival of the Pilgrims may be found in 'A briefe Relation of the Discovery and Plantation of New-England: and of sundry Accidents therein occurring' from 1607 to 1622, London, 1622, and also in Sir Ferdinando Gorges's 'Briefe Narration of the Originall Undertakings of the Advancement of Plantations into the parts of America.' The latter, written at this time, was not printed until 1659, when it was published at London by Gorges's grandson under the title 'America painted to the Life.' The volume contains four sections, of which the best known is Edward Johnson's 'Wonder-Working Providence of Sion's Saviour in New England,' originally issued at London in 1654.

Our knowledge of the Plymouth Pilgrims comes largely from the writings of William Bradford and of Edward Winslow. The principal reservoir of information is the famous and long-lost Bradford Manuscript, which has been reproduced in facsimile. The recovery of this precious document supercedes to a large extent all the earlier writings, and yet no one can neglect these other works entirely, for the writer of each of them had access to other

sources of information which serve to throw light on one or another phase of the Pilgrim story. Not the least interesting point about the books that appeared before the manuscript was recovered is the fact that many of the writers, before the American Revolution, had access to it, and if the original had never been found, considerable portions of it would have been preserved in the quotations made from it by these historians. This is especially true of Nathaniel Morton's 'New-Englands Memorial,' which was printed at Cambridge in 1669, the first historical publication issued from the colonial press. Besides the original, there are several later editions of Morton, of which the most desirable are those of 1772 and 1826, both in the Library.

Edward Winslow, the most highly educated of the Plymouth settlers, wrote three pamphlets containing much first-hand information. The most important of these was entitled 'Hypocrisie Unmasked: By a true Relation of the Proceedings of the Massachusetts against Samuel Gorton. Whereunto is added a briefe Narration of the true grounds or cause of the first Planting of New-England.' This appeared at London in 1646 and was a reply to a tract printed earlier the same year by Samuel Gorton, with the title, 'Simplicities Defence against Seven-Headed Policy. Or The combate of the United Colonies, not onely against some of the Natives and Subjects, but against the Authority also of the Kingdome of England'; of which the

Library has the Huth copy. Gorton transferred the scene of controversy from Rhode Island to London, where to his discomfiture he found that Winslow was more than his match in the use of language as well as in political skill. After flaying his antagonist to a finish, Winslow tells the story of the Pilgrim church at Leyden and the migration across the Atlantic, giving many facts that are found nowhere else.

Winslow, probably collaborating with Bradford, is supposed to have been the principal author of the earliest printed account of the Pilgrim settlement. This was 'A Relation or Journal of the beginnings and proceedings of the English Plantation settled at Plimouth.' It is known as 'Mourt's Relation' because the preface is signed George Mourt. Nobody of this name can be found who was in any way associated with the colony; but there was a George Morton, and it is very likely that his name was misprinted. 'Mourt's Relation' carried the narrative to December, 1621. It is continued to September, 1623, when Winslow left Plymouth for England, in his 'Good Newes from New England . . . Shewing the wondrous providence and goodnes of God, in their preservation and continuance, being delivered from many apparent deaths and dangers.' This was printed early in 1624.

To the student of history or of bibliography, as well as to the librarian or the collector of English blood, the works of greatest sentimental interest

among the books dealing with early American events are Hariot's 'Virginia,' Smith's 'True Relation,' and Winslow's tracts. To the true American patriot these original publications, in which the English public read the very earliest news of the land which was to become the seat of the great trans-Atlantic nation, will always call for profound veneration.

Chapter IX

THE COLONY OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY AND ITS OFFSHOOTS

A LITTLE book printed at London in 1630 with the title, 'The humble request of His Maiesties loyall subjects, the Governor and the Company late gone for New England, to the Rest of their Brethren, in and of the Church of England, For the obtaining of their Prayers, and the removall of suspitions, and mis-constructions of their Intentions,' is spoken of with deep reverence by the numerous descendants of those worthy first settlers of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. It was 'The Puritan's Farewell to Old England,' and has been reprinted and used at anniversary celebrations of Puritan admirers. The purpose of this tract was that Winthrop and those who went with him on the "Great Emigration" of 1630 should be viewed by the rest of the world with correct understanding. Written with great care in composition, it expresses in language of the utmost humility the love for the Established Church of those who were about to depart for New England shores. They were particular to state that they were not Separatists, even if their past actions made them Nonconformists. With reverence pro-

found and faith unshaken, they represented the less extreme element of the Puritan family. This little book, of such deep sentimental interest, is as important as it is rare. It is a full reflection of the feeling of the Nonconformist element in old England in relation to the Established Church.

Events of the early history of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, in more or less detail, are to be found principally in Governor John Winthrop's 'History of New England.' Like Bradford's 'History,' this remained in manuscript for many years. In 1790 the first edition was published, and there was another in 1825. Still later, in 1853, the best edition appeared, to which was added in 1864 a well-written biography of Governor Winthrop by his descendant, Robert C. Winthrop.

The 'Chronicles of Massachusetts,' and a companion volume for Plymouth, contain a collection of letters which passed between many of the members of the Massachusetts Company, and the records of the Company itself as far as they are extant. The records of the colony down to 1680 have also been printed. Thomas Hutchinson's 'History of Massachusetts,' the first volume of which was published at Boston in 1764, is a compilation of facts drawn from original documents, from the foundation of the colony to the author's deposition as governor in 1771. All the above, except the 'Humble Request,' are compilations, reprints, or secondary accounts of historical source materials, printed long after

the events which they record. Of early or contemporary publications, there exists but little which bears directly on the colonization of Massachusetts Bay.

Probably the earliest tract printed on its behalf is John White's 'The Planters Plea,' London, 1630. It was published anonymously, and the authorship is sometimes ascribed to Winthrop. It is an argument for colonization by people of godly ways of living, industrious, and not the kind who went to Virginia. It does not argue directly for Puritan principles, but rather for the foundation of a "bulwark against the kingdome of Antichrist." Another valuable source of information is William Wood's 'New England's Prospect,' London, 1639, a lively contemporary and not pro-Winthrop account of Massachusetts.

Of somewhat later date is Captain Edward Johnson's 'The Wonder-working Providence of Sion's Saviour in New England,' London, 1654, with a second title 'The History of New England.' This book was reissued with Gorges's 'America painted to the Life,' of which mention has been made. Copies of all the above are in the Library, as is Rev. Francis Higginson's 'New Englands Plantation,' London, 1630. He came to New England to attend to the spiritual needs of the earliest colonists, wrote this book abounding with interesting facts and observations, and died within the year after his arrival.

The books mentioned above and the decidedly meagre source accounts available, however, leave few important happenings in dispute. The great and primary authority, Winthrop, has never been accused of misstatement of facts as he understood them, and seldom did even his religious enthusiasm carry him away from a fair presentation of a religious controversy, even in such a case as his differences with Roger Williams.

In an incredibly short time after the first two or three years of their foundation both Plymouth and Massachusetts became securely organized communities. The establishment of outlying colonies or settlements followed immediately. There were several of these offshoots, caused by political or religious differences. How could anyone expect that in the asylum of New England all divergencies of opinion would disappear? It was more probable that the sudden release from the fetters of Old England would excite greater differences. And so it came to pass. Among the first of such differences from which followed an event of importance, was the dispute with Roger Williams.

The creed of Massachusetts and of Plymouth was narrow and dogmatic, and little was needed outside the strict rules of the Puritan to start a dispute. In the spring of 1631, Williams, after his training at Oxford and with a mind full of opinions which led him to follow in the wake of the Nonconformists, landed in Massachusetts. He was a Welshman and

from the beginning of his career a controversialist, but the sweetness of his nature always kept him free from pronounced bitterness. He frequently wrote for dialectical effect rather than for any definite object. From the six volumes of his collected writings and letters, published by the Narragansett Club, may be gleaned many details of early New England life. His serious religious dissertations expound his doctrines and demonstrate his moral righteousness, but we turn from these with relief to his sprightly, graceful letters, which reveal to us of to-day that lovable character which we always associate with him.

Constituted as he was, Williams could not live long anywhere without disputation. And so, after only six months' residence in Massachusetts, the disturbances began. It would be interesting, even now, to recite in detail the controversy, but the story has often been told. Williams stated emphatically that a state church was an abomination. He declined to join the church at Boston, unless the members repented of ever having had communion with the Church of England; and when, after his expulsion from Salem, he was allowed to return there, he reasserted his doctrines of the complete separation of Church and State.

Such teachings were sufficient to arouse any government to drastic action, but those in authority at Boston were more than patient. The controversy continued until the fall of 1635, when Williams was

sentenced to leave the colony. He broke one of the rules of conduct imposed on him, however, and the Court ordered him sent to England. He escaped, made his way to Narragansett Bay, and the history of Rhode Island begins.

Winthrop's 'History' is the authority for much that pertains to the foundation of Rhode Island. Thomas Welde published his book, 'A short story of the rise, reign, and ruin of the Antinomians of New England,' at London in 1644; one of the earliest and most partisan on this dispute. Much of the source material, however, comes down to us in manuscript; but most of this has been printed in later years in the Proceedings or Transactions of the New England historical societies.

Several years after Williams's departure from Massachusetts, John Cotton, the greatest Puritan debater in New England, in a printed 'Letter,' defended the action of the Court in banishing Williams. Three large books were the result. Williams first wrote in reply to Cotton's letter, 'The Bloudy Tenent of Persecution, for cause of Conscience,' London, 1644, which Cotton answered three years later in his 'Bloudy Tenent, washed . . . How farre Liberty of Conscience ought to be given to those that truly feare God? And how farre restrained to turbulent and pestilent persons, that not onely raze the foundation of Godlinesse, but disturb the Civill Peace where they live,' London, 1647. Williams replied to this in turn in his 'Bloody Tenent yet

More Bloody,' London, 1652. In all this controversy, it is easy to see that much of its intense bitterness was due to the fact that Williams persisted in carrying the matter to London, where the question of the right of Parliament to control or direct the New England colonists inevitably became involved in its solution.

Cotton's argument was, briefly, that right may be maintained by force, but that the followers of other religions may not use force because they are wrong. With such a theory all the questionable doings of the Puritans were not violations of conscience. Cotton was smothered by Williams's unanswerable replies. The banishment of Williams from Massachusetts did not end the troubles. From the controversial books by Cotton and Williams mentioned above, it is a pleasure to turn to another work in the Library, which was Williams's first book: 'A key into the language of America: Together with briefe Observations of the Customs, Manners and Worships, &c., of the aforesaid Natives in Peace and Warre, in Life and Death,' London, 1643. It is pleasant also to remember that, although Williams was temperamentally unable to get along with his fellow Englishmen, he continued until his death on the best of terms with the natives.

Of contemporary printed source material for the early history of Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Maine, there is a great dearth. For Connecticut, from the Massachusetts side, Winthrop is the prin-

cial authority. Much material remained in manuscript until the Records of Connecticut were compiled by J. Hammond Trumbull. The first volume appeared in 1850 and the twelfth in 1882. Earlier, Benjamin Trumbull's 'History of Connecticut,' issued in 1818, was the best compilation. Increase Mather published in 1677 a 'Relation of the troubles which have hapned in New-England, By reason of the Indians there,' which incorporated Captain John Mason's 'History of the Pequot War.' The publication by the Massachusetts Historical Society of the long-slumbering manuscripts of Lyon Gardiner, commander at Saybrook and a participant in the Pequot War, added much light to the history of the time. Captain John Underhill and Philip Vincent also wrote narratives which exist as contemporary printed pamphlets, and these supplement Mason's account.

Theophilus Eaton and John Davenport are generally credited with the founding of the New Haven Colony. Little is known of either man. We have the sermons of Davenport, but there is no history concealed within his ecclesiastical thoughts. Eaton was a man of large means, and all we know of him comes from Winthrop. The settlers, by general agreement, accepted the rule of Scripture for a religious system and civil code.

For the early history of the territory north of Massachusetts, which later developed into New Hampshire and Maine, we must go again to Win-

throp for the Massachusetts side until 1648, and to the volumes of records. Jeremy Belknap's 'History of New Hampshire,' Boston, 1792, and the later edition published at Dover in 1812, are to be relied upon for that colony. The narrative is based upon the manuscript records of the various New Hampshire townships. This Library contains also John Farmer's 'Collections, topographical, historical and biographical, relating principally to New Hampshire,' Concord, 1822-24, as well as the Provincial and State Papers.

Early printed source materials for the history of Maine are likewise largely wanting, with the exception of the writings of Gorges already mentioned. The records have been compiled by Hazard, and by the Massachusetts and Maine Historical Societies in their Collections and Transactions.

In 1646, because of the exclusion of many from civil rights, and other grievances, the independent church members of New England petitioned the General Court for removal of their civil disabilities. They also demanded that they, as well as members of the Church of England, and the Presbyterians of Scotland, should be admitted to communion with the New England churches, and if not granted this, that they should be released from civil burdens. These affairs brought about the publication of two important controversial tracts. The first was written by Major John Childe, a man of learning and a traveller, then resident in New England. In pro-

test against the existing order of things, he published 'New Englands Jonas cast up at London: or A relation of the proceedings of the Court at Boston in New England against divers honest and godly persons, for petitioning for government in the commonwealth, according to the lawes of England,' London, 1647, which brought out the reply of Edward Winslow, in his 'New England's Salamander discovered.' 'New Englands Jonas' includes the earliest contemporary reprint of 'The Freeman's Oath,' the first issue of the Cambridge Press. A manuscript copy of the Oath made by Winthrop is preserved, but the first printing by Stephen Daye cannot be found, although Charles Evans found a tantalizing entry in the British Museum catalogue which may mean that a copy was once in that vast repository.

Winthrop died in 1649 and the accurate chronicling of events, which is due to him, ceases from that quarter. To offset this great loss to the careful investigator, we have the ever-increasing productions of the New England printing press, together with a larger number of narratives with English imprints. In 1639 — exactly one hundred years after Mexico established her press — the first printing press in English America was set up at Cambridge, when Stephen Daye began the printing of books and tracts. To the collector of American imprints, the first products, 'The Freeman's Oath' and 'The Bay Psalm Book,' are great prizes, and they are

important, too, historically. No copy of the former is known to exist, and only ten copies of the latter are in public and private libraries. For several years thereafter, the press did little except print an annual Almanack, an occasional law, Thanksgiving or Fast Day Proclamations, and the Harvard Commencement programmes, but nevertheless the career of the printer was started. After 1660 the output began to be more important, and a certain amount of historical material came from the presses of New England.

Almost immediately after losing the guidance of Winthrop, we enter upon a period of intense controversial religious feeling. Possibly the succeeding governor of Massachusetts, John Endicott, was largely responsible for much that occurred in the following years, for the Puritan in all his bigotry and cruel intolerance was reflected in the actions of this new governor. Parallel with the intense persecution of the Quakers, the books pertaining to which will be mentioned later, came a most persistent effort, supported by the Puritan clergy of New England, for the redemption of the Indian. It is strange to see strenuous efforts for conversion and strenuous persecution working simultaneously.

Chapter X

NEW ENGLAND RELIGIOUS MATTERS

IT has been stated that the banishment of Roger Williams did not settle all the troubles in New England. Thomas Welde and Edward Winslow published an account of the difficulties with the 'Antinomians, Familists and Libertines that infected the churches of New England,' already referred to. This book appeared with differing titles and reprinted text, in several editions, two of which are in this Library. Robert Baylie, a friend of Roger Williams who contested with him the views of those in authority, states concisely the position taken by the so-called Nonconformists and Independents and their relations to the Puritan Church, in 'A dissuasive from the errours of the time,' London, 1645.

The troubles of the Puritan Church with other Nonconformists, however, did not compare with the annoyances caused them by the Quakers. Possibly the earliest account of Quaker and Baptist persecution is to be found in John Clark's 'Ill newes from New-England: or a narative of New-Englands persecution wherein is declared that while old England is becoming New, New-England

is become Old,' London, 1652. There is nowhere a more concise account of the position of the Puritan Church at that time, relative to these two sects, than is given in John Norton's 'A discussion of that great point in Divinity, the sufferings of Christ,' London, 1653. This book was written at the request of the General Court of the Massachusetts Colony in answer to William Pynchon's 'Meritorious Price of our Redemption.' A clear exposition of the Puritan view of the Quaker invasion is given in the rare tract by Thomas Welde, 'An answer to W. R. His narration of the opinions and practices of the Churches lately erected in New England. Vindicating those Godly and Orthodoxall Churches, from more than an hundred imputations,' London, 1644. Rev. William Rathband published a severe criticism on the church ways in New England; but from the fact that he had never lived in the colony and had personal experience there, Welde had much the better of his antagonist.

These tracts reflect the civil and religious conditions of New England about the middle of the seventeenth century, and should be considered with Gorton's 'Simplicities Defence' and Winslow's 'Hypocrisie unmasked,' already referred to. Isaac Backus's 'A History of New England with particular reference to the denomination of Christians called Baptists,' Boston, 1777-96, embodies some important source materials covering these earlier times.

With the facile pens of George Fox, his wife Margaret Fell, Francis Howgill, Edmund Burroughs, and others, champions of the Quakers, all of them writing tract after tract, it was not long before the cases of Quaker persecution by the Puritans were thoroughly heralded. In 1659 George Fox published 'The secret workes of a cruel people made manifest; Whose little finger is become heavier than their persecutors the Bishops loyns, who have set up an Image amongst them in New-England, which all that will not bow down unto, and worship, must undergo all such Sufferings as can be invented.' The zealous Howgill, author of some fifty books, tracts, and broadsides, gave an account of the reception which the Quakers met with at Boston in 'The Popish inquisition newly erected in New-England, whereby their church is manifested to be a daughter of Mysterie Babylon which did drink the blood of the Saints. Also, Their Rulers to be in the Beasts power upon whom the Whore rideth, manifest by their wicked compulsary Laws against the Lamb and his Followers,' London, 1659. This book discusses from the Quaker standpoint the law passed at New Plymouth against the Quakers and also that passed at the General Court held in Boston the preceding year, 1658. Humphrey Norton's 'New-England's Ensigne: It being The Account of Cruelty, the Professors Pride, and the Articles of their Faith,' London, 1659, must not be confused with the quite different tract of the Puritan, John

Norton, whose championship of the other side is expressed in his work, 'The Heart of New-England rent at the blasphemies of the present generation,' London, 1660. Here we learn that as early as 1654 the first law was passed by the Massachusetts Colony against the doctrines of the Quakers, and certain Quaker books were ordered burned by the public executioner. Shortly after this the Quakers arrived and were summarily banished, but their religious enthusiasm was still keen, and even as they continued to arrive, more strict laws were passed. Imprisonment and whippings were frequent. At last, in the winter of 1559-60, two martyrs for the Quaker cause, William Robinson and Marmaduke Stephenson, were hanged, while their associate, Mrs. Mary Dyer, was reprieved with the halter around her neck. These matters are related in detail in 'A call from death to life,' prepared by Stephenson before his execution, and printed at London in 1660. Edmund Burroughs gives further details in his book, 'A declaration of the sad and great persecution and martyrdom of the people of God called Quakers,' London, 1660. This was also a reply to a defence of the action of the Puritan courts of New England in regard to all these persecutions and hangings, which was made in 'The humble petition and address of the General Court sitting at Boston in New England unto the High and Mighty Prince Charles II,' London, 1660. Another reply to the 'Petition' is in a work of

great historical importance in connection with the Quaker persecutions, George Bishop's 'New England judged, not by Man's but the spirit of the Lord: and the summe sealed up of New-Englands persecutions,' 1661. This was reprinted at London in 1703. The Library contains many Quaker tracts on the history of this time, numbering some three hundred and fifty. They reflect conditions in New England from the Quaker standpoint, and many of them are also of importance for a consideration of the evolution of the settlement of Pennsylvania.

In great favor with his brother-in-law, Oliver Cromwell, William Hooke voices in his literary production the relations between Puritan New England and the Commonwealth. After living at Taunton, at Manchester, and at New Haven with Davenport for twenty years, in 1656 he returned to England to be domestic chaplain to Cromwell. His 'Nevv Englands teares, for old Englands feares,' London, 1641, has some literary merit, and his later sermons attest the earlier harmony of thought. This book passed through three issues the same year, two of these being in the Library.

'The Pulpit Incendiary,' London, 1648, is the title of an important book, which describes conditions in England affecting New England. The Library's copy came from the private collection of the late George Emery Littlefield, long the leading Boston bookseller and student of its early annals, and in it he wrote the following comment: "A very

valuable and very rare contemporary Congregational tract, published just before the establishment of the Commonwealth, . . . which drove John Cotton, John Norton, Richard Mather, and Thomas Shepard to New England. This is the only copy I have ever seen. I have never seen it offered for sale in England or America."

Presbyterianism — another Puritan trouble — is the subject of an equally rare tract, written by Thomas Parker, pastor for a time in the church at Newbury, under the title: 'The true copy of a letter . . . touching the government practised in the churches of New England,' London, 1644. This is the Bishop White Kennet copy.

John White, known to his fellow-controversialists in England as "Century White," was the author of 'The first century of scandalous, malignant priests,' London, 1643. This volume is of especial importance to the bibliographer and collector interested in Washington. A learned bibliographer has written that it "must take rank as the corner stone of a library of Washingtoniana."

A typical Puritan and a man who wrote one book which has some historical interest for us to-day was Peter Bulkeley. He came from persecuting England to Cambridge in 1635, and soon thereafter with a party of followers went into the wilderness and founded Concord. His one book in which we are interested is 'The Gospel-Covenant; or, The covenant of grace opened,' of which a second edition

was printed at London in 1651. This gives a lucid New England opinion of the great happenings then going on in the mother country.

The three greatest New England preachers of their day were unquestionably Thomas Hooker, John Cotton, and Thomas Shepard. Hooker came to New England in 1633, and three years later he and his flock went westward into the wilderness and founded Hartford. His writings, mainly on theological subjects, number something over twenty and are represented in the Library.

In 1635 Thomas Shepard placed the broad Atlantic between his persecutors and himself. He landed in Boston and took charge of a church in Cambridge the following year, where he remained until he died in 1649. A great preacher and theological writer, holding views which were moderate for his time, he permanently influenced New England thought. He did much toward furthering the futile effort of Indian conversion, and we know him best by his contributions to the Eliot Tracts, to be mentioned in the next chapter. His other work which is most commonly met with is 'The sound believer. A treatise of evangelical conversion,' London, 1659.

The names of John Cotton and of the several members of the Mather family are associated with the ecclesiastical, political and literary events of the period from about the middle of the seventeenth century through the first quarter of the eighteenth.

The "Patriarch of New England," John Cotton, after a tempestuous career in England, came to Boston in 1633. He became "teacher" of the First Church of Boston, of which John Wilson was pastor. There he remained until 1652, the year of his death. More a preacher than a literary writer or historian, he was nevertheless the most influential man in New England in civil and ecclesiastical affairs. This influence was generally beneficial, but he was never an advocate of religious freedom or of democracy. Some of his productions have been mentioned in connection with the Roger Williams controversy. In the Library, and invaluable as an exposition of New England Congregationalism, is 'The way of the churches of Christ in New England, examined by the Golden Reed of the Sanctuary,' London, 1645. His 'Milk for Babes' was an ever-present book in the Puritan household for the instruction of children. The Library has no less than sixteen of the voluminous writings of Cotton. Tyler says, "Evidently the vast intellectual and moral tone of John Cotton was a thing that could not be handed over to the printing press: it had to communicate itself in the living presence of the man himself."

Richard Mather, a member of a notable English family, came to New England after being suspended from the Church of England for nonconformity. He was a friend of John Cotton, who preceded him, and of Thomas Hooker, and soon after landing in Boston he was made "teacher" in the Church of

Dorchester. There he remained until his death in 1669. Cotton Mather's 'Magnalia' relates much of interest about his grandfather. "His voice," we are there told, "was loud and big; and procured unto his ministry an awful and very taking majesty." More important, however, was the fact that this man was "the progenitor of all the Mathers in New England," and the first of a long line. Careful investigations have shown that no less than eighty clergymen descended from him, twenty-nine of whom bore the name of Mather.

New England Congregationalism was described and defended in Richard Mather's 'Church-government and Church-covenant discussed In an Answer to two and thirty Questions sent over by divers Ministers in England,' London, 1643. With the same intent he wrote 'A modest & brotherly answer to Mr. Charles Herle his Book against the Independency of Churches,' London, 1644. Mather took part with Welde and Eliot in the writing of the 'Bay Psalm Book.' But the most important of all his works, in its influence, was the draft of the famous Cambridge Platform, almost entirely from his pen. His life was written by his son, Increase, under the title: 'The life and death of that Reverend man of God, Mr. Richard Mather,' Cambridge, 1670.

The first New-England-born Mather was given the name of Increase "because of the never-to-be-forgotten increase of every sort wherewith God fa-

vored the country about the time of his nativity." He graduated from Harvard in 1650 and at once entered into the work of the ministry by preaching in the North Church of Boston. With the 'Cambridge Platform' of 1646, drafted by his father (a copy of the second New England edition of 1680 is in the Library), and the 'Confession' of 1680, for which he was responsible, he was a first authority on doctrine and government for the churches of Massachusetts. Later he became a leader in the opposition to Sir Edmund Andros, Edward Randolph, and Governor Joseph Dudley, and was sent to England in the Colony's interest. All this led to the publication of 'A collection of papers relating to the present juncture of affairs in England,' 1688; 'A sixth collection of papers,' London, 1689; and 'A brief relation of the state of New England,' London, 1689. In 1676, he published 'A brief history of the vvar with the Indians in New-England. From June 24, 1675,' London, 1676 — one of the King Philip's War narratives.

His religious writings are voluminous and there is space to mention only a few: 'A course of sermons on early piety,' Boston, 1721; 'Elijah's mantle. A faithful testimony, to the cause and work of God, in the churches of New England,' Boston, 1722; 'A discourse concerning the subject of baptisme,' Cambridge, 1675; 'Cases of Conscience concerning evil spirits Personating Men, Witchcrafts,' Boston, 1693. The latter, like several other of his writings,

shows that he believed only less thoroughly than his son in witchcraft. The first authority on the life of Increase Mather is the work of his son, Cotton Mather: 'Parentator. Memoirs of remarkables in the life and the death of the ever-memorable Dr. Increase Mather. Who expired August 23, 1723,' Boston, 1724.

There is an old epitaph which says:

Under this stone lies Richard Mather,
Who had a son greater than his father,
And eke a grandson greater than either.

The most prolific of the Mathers in literary output, and by far the most widely known, was the eldest son of Increase, who married a daughter of John Cotton, and christened his first-born, Cotton. Unquestionably this man, even recognizing fully his many faults, was the greatest that New England produced in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. He regarded himself, and many agreed with him, as a supernatural genius, and indeed, there was much to justify this feeling, considering the time and the local setting. Endowed with a wonderful memory and an inordinate appetite for knowledge, he early began his career as a preacher and writer. His four hundred or more published works comprise sermons, tracts and letters. The most notable as well as most voluminous of these is his 'Magnalia Christi americana: or, The ecclesiastical history of New England,' London, 1702.

It is an enormous book, concerning itself mainly with the settlement and religious history of New England. Often inaccurate, it abounds in conceits and odd features; yet, withal, it contains matter to be found nowhere else, for Cotton Mather had access to records and letters not now in existence. As an auxiliary to other source materials, it is invaluable. Ordinarily, the book is not a rarity, but the Library's copy is, for the bibliophile, one whose equal is very seldom met with. It is a genuine large paper copy, measuring $14\frac{1}{2} \times 9$ inches, perfect in every particular. Moreover, it contains the original two leaves of errata, printed in America, of which but few other copies are recorded. There are, in addition, many of the religious writings of Cotton Mather in the Library, some of the most important ones being:

Bonifacius. An essay upon the good, that is to be advised and designed, by those who desire to answer the great end of life. Boston, 1710.

Eleutheria: or, An idea of the Reformation in England. London, 1698.

The good old way. Or, Christianity described. Boston, 1706.

India Christiana. Boston, 1721.

Late memorable providences relating to witchcrafts. London, 1691.

These and the many other similar publications on the Library's shelves are sufficient to present fully a comprehensive view of Congregationalism in New England.

The manuscripts of Mather which still exist, his Diary in particular, have been made available through printing by the Massachusetts Historical Society and they have added much of value for the consideration of the historical student. The Library contains one manuscript from his hand, consisting of passages from the Greek Testament translated into English, a living illustration of the industry of the man.

We pardon many of the erring opinions of the Mathers, but the part they took in the witchcraft delusion did much to lessen their influence, upon the reaction which took place shortly. The writing of a book by Robert Calef, a merchant of Boston, under the title, 'More wonders of the invisible world,' London, 1700, which was reprinted at Salem, 1796, was a monument of moral courage and did much to correct the errors into which the Mathers had guided public opinion.

The last of the Mathers who calls for consideration in connection with New England history, was Samuel, the son of Cotton. He was a brother-in-law of Thomas Hutchinson, and an ardent speaker and writer in behalf of the cause of the colonists, for whom he performed a beneficial service.

The great preachers, theological and semi-historical writers, who followed those whose works we have mentioned are numerous during the early eighteenth-century period. The population in all the colonies greatly increased, and the capacity of the

printing presses in America and England was ever becoming greater. The Library contains numerous tracts, more or less representative, written by Samuel Sewall, the first abolitionist, John Wise, the brilliant prose writer, and Jeremiah Dummer, who according to President Stiles had the "greatest strength of genius in New England." Of Jonathan Edwards much might be written, but his published works are easily available in unnumbered editions. Mather Byles, afterward an incorrigible Tory, never preached politics in the pulpit and never talked about anything else out of it. For forty-one years he served his people in one church, and his writings show him to be a wit, a theologian, and a pulpit orator.

Chapter XI

NATIVE NEW ENGLANDERS

FORMAL action for legalizing the conversion of the Indians was taken through the efforts of Edward Winslow, in 'An act for the promoting and propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ in New England,' passed by Parliament July 27, and forthwith printed, London, 1649. Previous to this time, however, considerable efforts had been made in this direction, and as early as 1643 there appeared the first of the so-called 'Eliot Indian Tracts.' John Eliot, known as the "Apostle to the Indians," was the instigator of a regular succession of tracts, the purpose of which in nearly all instances was the furtherance of his evangelical work among the Indians. Entwined with some inevitable theological speculation there is much in these tracts that is important for understanding Indian history. Eleven in number and varying in character, they were issued in small quarto form in London, all except the earliest being sent out by or on behalf of the Corporation. The titles are particularly interesting, even for that age of picturesque language, and they prove that many of the ideas exploited by the modern professional advertisers are far from being new discoveries.

The full set of the 'Eliot Tracts' consists of:

1. New England's First Fruits; in respect, First of the Conversion, of some, Conviction of divers, Preparation of sundry, of the Indians. 2. Of the progresse of Learning, in the Colledge at Cambridge. 1643.

2. The Day Breaking, if not the Sun-Rising of the Gospell with the Indians in New England. 1647.

3. The Clear Sun-shine of the Gospel breaking forth upon the Indians. By Thomas Shepard. 1648.

4. The Glorious Progress of the Gospel, amongst the Indians in New England. Manifested by three Letters under the Hand of that famous instrument of the Lord, Mr. John Eliot. Published by Edward Winslow. 1649.

5. The Light appearing more and more towards the perfect Day. Or, A farther Discouery of the present state of the Indians. Published by Henry Whitfield. 1651.

6. Strength out of Weaknesse; or a Glorious Manifestation Of the further Progresse of the Gospel. 1652.

7. Tears of Repentance; Or, a further Narrative of the Progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians. Related by Mr. Eliot and Mr. Mayhew. 1653.

8. A Late and Further Manifestation of the Progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New England. Declaring their constant Love and Zeal to the Truth. 1655.

9. A further Accompt of the Progresse of the Gospel amongst the Indians. Set forth in certaine Letters sent from thence declaring a purpose of Printing the Scriptures in the Indian Tongue. 1659.

10. A further Account of the progress of the Gospel Amongst the Indians. Being a relation of the confessions made by several Indians. 1660.

11. A Brief Narrative of the Progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians, in the Year 1670. Given in By the Reverend Mr. John Elliot. 1671.

All are in this Library excepting numbers 2 and 9. Several of the copies are from the library of Bishop White Kennett; others from that of Henry Huth.

A fitting culmination to the life of John Eliot was his translation of the New Testament, which first appeared in 1661, and was followed by the translation of the Old Testament in 1663. The Library's copy is a fine, complete example of the second edition, dated 1685. This monumental work of Eliot not only shows the wonderful industry of the man himself, but is also a demonstration of what could be accomplished with the simple printing outfit which had passed into the hands of Samuel Green, in conjunction with the services of Marmaduke Johnson, a practical printer sent over from London for this purpose, and possibly two Indian boys. Prior to the first appearance of the Testament, the products of this press had been, except for the almanacs, simple tracts or broadsides involving no complicated operations such as were bound to arise in connection with so large a work as the publication of the whole Bible. To-day the copies of this Indian Bible are museum curios; only the associated history is important.

The history of King Philip's War, beginning with the murder of the first English colonist by the Indians in June, 1675, and continuing to the death of Philip in August a year later, is told in the so-called 'King Philip's War Narratives.' Folio pamphlets, published in the form of official bulletins, they give

an account of the progress of the war. They number five, are of considerable historical importance, and are all in the Library:

1. The Present State of New-England, With Respect to the Indian War. London, 1676.
2. A Continuation of the State of New-England; Being a Farther Account of the Indian Warr. London, 1676.
3. A New and Further Narrative of the State of New-England, being a Continued Account of the Bloudy Indian-War, from March till August, 1676. London, 1676.
4. A True Account of the Most Considerable Occurrences That have hapned in the Warre between the English and the Indians in New-England. London, 1676.
5. The warr in New-England visibly ended. London, 1677.

Besides these folio narratives there were a number of other unofficial tracts containing reports of the progress of the War, which were printed in quarto form.

William Hubbard's 'The Present State of New England. Being a narrative of the troubles with the Indians,' London, 1677, is both well written and authoritative. It is quite in contrast with his 'General History' of New England, a compilation from Morton's 'New Englands Memorial.' The latter work long remained in manuscript until it was published in 1815 by the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Among the numerous historical narratives of the early eighteenth century, we find another old chronicler of Indian troubles, Samuel Penhallow, who told his story in 'The history of the wars of New-

England with the Eastern Indians or, A Narrative of their continual Perfidy and Cruelty, from 1703,' Boston, 1726. The Henry W. Poor-Herschel V. Jones copy of this book, in its original calf binding, is in the Library.

As a writer on the flora and fauna of New England, with dissertations upon the remedies used by the Indians, John Josselyn wins a place of honor in any American collection. His two works are: 'New Englands Rarities Discovered,' London, 1672, and 'An account of two voyages to New-England,' London, 1674.

Sir Edmund Andros was the New England storm-centre toward the end of the seventeenth century. His presence, as the loyal and comparatively efficient representative of the British crown, provides a welcome relief from religious controversies. These were never entirely disposed of until liberty of conscience was proclaimed as well as freedom of the press, but civil matters became steadily more and more prominent with each passing decade. Andros's first appearance as governor of New York started trouble, and tract-writing. Later, upon the accession of James II, when he became governor of the consolidated northern colonies to form the dominion of New England, including all the English settlements, except Pennsylvania, between Maryland and Canada, the protests of the colonists were loud and almost unanimous. Further, with the King behind him, Andros proclaimed liberty of conscience,

which was a direct blow at the Puritan power. The Governor was very unpopular, as may be surmised. By royal authority he revoked the charter of Massachusetts. He then proceeded to demand the surrender of the Connecticut charter from the Council of that colony, thereby precipitating the "Charter Oak" episode, so familiar to all. The culmination of the trouble was the arrest of Andros, together with his subordinates, all of whom were sent to England for trial as soon as King William was securely established on the throne. All this is concisely told in Nathaniel Byfield's 'An account of the late revolution in New-England. Together with the Declaration of the gentlemen, merchants, and inhabitants of Boston and the country adjacent,' London, 1689. Throughout the period of disturbance, there was an uninterrupted succession of pamphlets, proclamations, and lesser ephemeral writings, which have now become exceedingly rare, a high percentage being known only from single copies preserved in the archives at Boston or London. These were brought together and reprinted in the 'Andros Tracts' series issued by the Prince Society in 1890.

New England was safe for the time being, with its old form of government restored, with Simon Bradstreet at its head. The year 1689 begins a new period in Colonial history, which extends onward to 1763, the year of the Treaty of Peace signed at Paris. Thenceforward, France ceases to be a factor

in American affairs, the zenith of British Colonial domination has been reached for the time being, and we drift into controversies of several different natures, — some of them unsettled even to-day, — and all of which led into the period of the American Revolution.

The shining light among the verse-writers of colonial times was Michael Wigglesworth. His poetry so perfectly uttered the faith and feelings of the Puritans that for many years its popularity almost equalled that of the Bible itself. He was a voluminous writer, and the number of his lines is exceeded only by Ann Bradstreet's verses. His masterpiece — and New England church history could hardly be examined without mentioning it — was 'The Day of Doom: or, A description of the great and last judgment, with a short Discourse about Eternity.' Tyler discusses this work exhaustively and most interestingly. Like the early primers, its popularity was great and its use general. No copy of the first American edition is known. The Library has a copy of the earliest edition with the English imprint, dated 1673, from the Huth library, as well as the sixth Boston edition of 1715, and also the seventh Boston edition of 1751. Even as late as 1867 this book was reprinted. Besides the 'Day of Doom,' Wigglesworth is known by his 'Meat out of the Eater: or, Meditations concerning the necessity, end, and usefulness of afflictions unto God's children,' of which the fifth edition was printed at Boston in 1717.

Equally entertaining and important is the work of the first professional poet of New England, Ann Bradstreet, the wife of Governor Simon Bradstreet. Her book has one of those long title-pages, making it a table of contents, which we will abbreviate: 'The tenth Muse lately sprung up in America. Or, Severall Poems, compiled with great variety of VVit and Learning, full of delight,' London, 1650. But few copies of this book are known and the one in the Library is in its contemporary binding.

Four editions published in one year showed the interest the Puritan party in England took in 'The Simple Cobler of Aggavvam in America Willing to help mend his Native Country, lamentably tattered, both in the upper-Leather and Sole, with all the honest stitches he can take. And as willing never to bee paid for his work, by Old English wonted pay,' written by Nathaniel Ward of Ipswich, Massachusetts, and printed at London in 1647. It is a satire upon the licence of new opinions of his time, and Tyler places a high literary value upon the production.

A poetical volume, particularly interesting to the collector of early American literature, and apparently overlooked by Tyler, for he does not mention it, is Robert Hayman's 'Qvodlibets, lately come over from New Britaniola, old Newfovdnd-land. Epigrams and other small parcels, both morall and diuine,' London, 1628. This is probably the first book of English poetry written in America. It is

described in the *Bibliotheca Anglo-Poetica* and in W. Carew Hazlitt's 'Notes on Early English Literature.' The book is of very great rarity and the Library's is the Skegg-Utterson-Huth copy.

Thomas Prince was born in Massachusetts and from 1718 to 1758 was pastor of the South Church at Boston. His theological writings are numerous, but our particular interest in him is for the reason that he produced the first genuinely meritorious historical work published in America up to that time, namely, his 'Chronological History of New-England in the form of annals . . . from the discovery by Capt. Gosnold in 1602, to the arrival of Governor Belcher, in 1730,' Boston, 1736. Volume I is a monument of annalistic lore, compiled with accuracy, considering when it was done. The beautiful Menzies copy is in the Library. This volume was entirely filled by the 'Introduction, Containing a brief Epitome of the most remarkable Transactions and Events abroad, from the Creation.' As this volume stopped at the precise year with which the interest of its purchasers began, the publication was not well received by its subscribers. It was not until twenty years later, in 1755, that ninety-six pages of the second volume appeared, with the title: 'Annals of New England.' This continued the narration to 1633, but there the work came to an abrupt end. To Prince we are greatly indebted for all that remains of his library. As a boy at college he began to gather books and documents pertaining to

America, and that spirit remained with him to the end. The Boston Public Library is now custodian of what remains of his library, after thieves, British troops, and vandals had done their work of scattering a large portion of it.

It is difficult indeed, in reviewing a very large number of bibliographically important books with a view to determining their fundamental or source values, to decide how far the writer of a pretentious volume may safely be credited with being the author of a new movement, idea, or account. Certain it is that one writer, Jonathan Mayhew, like nearly all the preachers of his day, launched into matters of importance, civil, ecclesiastical, and military. Practically all his writings contain accounts of events now of interest to us, or they are prophetic warnings of what is to occur. As Tyler says, "In Mayhew's day, almost every question of church was also a question of state; and he believed himself to be battling for the cause of civil liberty in assaulting and execrating, at every opportunity, the Church of Rome and, more especially, the Church of England. His expressions of anger and of horror at the possible introduction of Anglican bishops into America would, in the light of our present knowledge, seem like the ravings of an eloquent maniac." His 'A discourse concerning unlimited submission and non-resistance to the higher powers,' Boston, 1750, was the first treatise written in a comprehensive way, which set forth unmistakably views

which meant concerted resistance to the power and prerogative of Great Britain. Fifteen years later, in 'The snare broken. A thanksgiving-discourse,' Boston, 1766, his language is full of forebodings mixed with joy at the repeal of the Stamp Act.

Mayhew did not live to read the Bishop of Landaff's sermon delivered in 1767 on behalf of the establishment of an American Episcopate, of which the Library has two editions, but the spirit of his opposition was continued by Charles Chauncey, William Livingston, and their associates. The bitterness of this controversy is shown by an examination of the tracts. Its importance is such that many well-informed historians — among whom Professor Arthur Lyon Cross holds a prominent position — place "the apprehension of Episcopacy" as one of the prime causes leading to the Revolution. The Library is rich in the materials of this controversy. Twenty-two of the thirty titles mentioned by William Nelson, the bibliographer who made an especial study of the subject, are here; also five that were unknown to him.

Of the more important compilations and histories taking us into the period of the Revolution, Hutchinson's and others have been mentioned. For the period following that covered by Cotton Mather's 'Magnalia' and bringing the narrative down to the year of its publication, we have Daniel Neal's 'The history of New-England, containing an impartial account of the civil and ecclesiastical affairs

of 'the country,' London, 1720. William Douglas's 'Summary' followed this in 1747. Isaac Backus published at Boston in 1777 his 'History of New-England, with particular reference to the denomination of Christians called Baptists,' and enlarged this into his 'Church history of New England,' Boston, 1784-96. Hannah Adams published in a single volume her 'Summary history of New England,' at Dedham, Massachusetts; reprinted the next year, 1800, at London; but this work is merely a compilation from the writings of other historians.

Chapter XII

THE MIDDLE COLONIES

NEW NETHERLANDS was the name given to that section of what is now the United States included in the principal parts of New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and a small part of Pennsylvania and Maryland. The Dutch West India Company, in its organization modelled after the older and prosperous Dutch East India Company, whose purpose was trade with India, was formally organized in 1621. But the new company, fashioned on more democratic lines, had very different purposes and objects for existence. It would be interesting to trace the wonderful and consistent spirit of the hundred thousand Belgians who were forced by the Spaniards to flee from their native country into Holland, and who there, after a struggle lasting many years, finally succeeded in 1621 in putting life into the Dutch West India Company. Their object was to cripple the power of their old oppressors, the Spaniards. Theirs was a corporation designed to fight a most powerful government, to attack it at its most vulnerable points; and so skillfully were the plans of this Holland-Belgian Corporation made, that the first twenty years of its career were financially very profitable, for it fed

upon the Spanish treasure ships and their cargoes looted from the conquests in Mexico, Central and South America.

But the Company's settlements in North America were of an entirely different character and purpose, and its right to make a settlement at all came by a transference to it from the Dutch East India Company. Henry Hudson, an Englishman, sailing under the Dutch flag even as late as 1612, and with the interests of his employers uppermost in his heart, was looking for the long-sought short cut or passage to India. He had been baffled in this endeavor by ice farther north, after which — possibly influenced by information he had received from his acquaintance, John Smith, regarding the probability of an opening to the west at about 40° North Latitude — he sailed south and entered the mouth of the river now called by his name. Upon this visit of Hudson's rested the claim of Holland to this vast section, in contradiction to England's claim to the entire coast along which the Cabots cruised in 1497 or 1498, granted over a century later to the Virginia Companies.

The gigantic schemes of the Dutch West India Company were largely framed by William Usselinx, an exiled Antwerp merchant. His efforts were not confined to Holland, for we find that he applied to Gustavus Adolphus for authority to establish a Swedish Company similar to the Dutch West India Company. This Library has Usselinx's 'Vthforligh

Forklaring,' Stockholm, 1626, which recites the "patent or privilege graciously granted to the new South Company in the Kingdom of Sweden by the most illustrious and powerful Prince and Lord, Gustavus Adolphus." The historian Israel Acrelius evidently had not seen this Swedish edition, or he would have referred to it rather than to the German translation. These events and the influence of Us-selinex brought Swedes and Hollanders together in American colonization. In 1630 the Dutch West India Company bought from the natives a tract of land on the banks of the Delaware River, and about the same period the Swedes colonized the spot where Lewiston, Delaware, is now located. This was followed by two other Swedish settlements, the larger and more important being our present Wilmington. A most authoritative account of these settlements in what they called New Sweden is given in 'Beskrifning om de Swenska Forsamlingars,' Stockholm, 1759, by Acrelius. The author was in charge of the Swedish churches in America from 1749 to 1756, and the book contains a full account of these churches, the colonies to which they ministered, and their civil history.

Previous to the above happenings, however, the few trading stations and settlements made by the Dutch incidental to Hudson's and Cornelius May's voyages were turned over in 1622 to the West India Company, whose first director, Peter Minuit, was appointed in 1626. He was followed by three others,

Wouter Van Twiller, William Krift, and, finally, Peter Stuyvesant, who in 1664 delivered them all to the English as spoils of war.

As to the source materials for the Dutch occupation, much has been lost, for the records of the Dutch West India Company were destroyed. The State of New York, through generous appropriations, has had the more important materials transcribed from the surviving records and from the collection of documents in the Dutch, English, French, and Swedish archives relating to the history of New Netherlands and New York down to 1776. They are invaluable. The 'Documentary History of New York' by O'Callaghan is of lesser value. The 'Collections' of the New York Historical Society, the Pennsylvania Archives, and Hazard's Register of Pennsylvania are in the Library and are mentioned because of the great dearth of first-hand printed narratives.

New Netherlands, or later New York, had no historian like Winslow or Bradford, who saw and related happenings from their beginnings. De Vries was the first historian of the New Netherlands Colony and, excepting Hudson, was the only navigator who published an account of his voyages during the Dutch régime. Adriaen van der Donck wrote a description of New Netherlands entitled, 'Beschryvinge van Nieuw-Nederlant,' of which a second edition appeared at Amsterdam in 1656. This book accurately tells of the country, its inhabitants, and its opportunities.

The war between Holland and England, 1664-67, is best narrated in an anonymous book 'Kort en Bondigh Verhael,' Amsterdam, 1667, of which there was an unauthorized French translation, entitled 'Description exacte de tout ce qui s'est passé dans les guerres,' Amsterdam, 1668. The reputed instigator of the war was Sir George Downing, a nephew of Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts, and a graduate in the first class of the first American college. He was the victim of scores of pamphlets written by the Dutch charging him with animosity toward their fellow countrymen settled in America, to which he intended as a reply his 'Discourse written by Sir George Downing, the King of Great Britain's Envoy Extraordinary to the States of the United Provinces,' London, 1672, a pamphlet of considerable rarity. The Latin and Dutch texts of the Treaty of Breda, which confirmed the English occupation, were published at The Hague in 1667.

Of the later New York histories, compiled from source materials, those of John Romeyn Brodhead, 'History of the State of New York,' New York, 1853-71, and of Joseph White Moulton under the same title, published at New York, 1824-26, are so trustworthy that they may be associated with the primary authorities. An earlier history, however, is that of William Smith, a distinguished lawyer of New York and Chief Justice of that province. His work, 'The history of the province of New-York,

from the first discovery to the year 1732,' London, 1757, has been several times reprinted, and a continuation by J. V. H. Yates was published in 1814, which brings the events down to that year. To the bibliographer and collector, the Library's copy of the original 1757 edition is interesting. Not only is it one of only four or five copies known on large paper, but it is also in its original blue wrappers, with the Fintry House bookplate. Another collector's prize is the first account of New York printed in English, Denton's 'Brief Description,' and to a superlative degree the still more rare 'Two Years Journal in New York' of Charles Wooley. The author was a clergyman of the Church of England, and chaplain to Sir Edmund Andros. Both of the above books have been reprinted more than once.

Much the same comment might be made on the first issue of Cadwallader Colden's 'History of the Five Indian Nations.' The second edition, with additions, alterations, and one of the earliest maps of New York, is of distinctive merit and useful for the historian. It was published under the title, 'The History of the Five Indian Nations of Canada, which are dependent on the province of New York,' London, 1747. Colden was a pronounced champion of the Indians and a keen observer. So prejudiced was he in favor of the native that his reports of the Indian eloquence at conferences are often questioned.

Most important of recent local New York his-

stories is the production of Isaac N. Phelps Stokes, 'The Iconography of Manhattan Island, 1498-1909, compiled from original sources,' New York, 1915-22. Exhaustive in its compilation of all source materials pertaining to Manhattan Island, it bids fair to remain a monument to the subject for years to come. These volumes are also marvels of the printer's art.

New Jersey, Delaware, and Pennsylvania, in all their early colonization period, are closely associated with the history of New Netherlands, whose controversies with Connecticut and Maryland over boundary lines began with the earliest settlements. The materials for New Jersey's early history are largely in manuscript, from which the printed archives of the colony, beginning with the first grant to Berkeley and Carteret, have been edited by William A. Whitehead, under the authority of the state government. The original documents are in the British Public Record Office and in the New Jersey archives. Mr. Whitehead also published an excellent work entitled 'East Jersey under the proprietary governments,' second edition, Newark, 1875.

The Quakers who founded New Jersey and Pennsylvania and those who troubled the Puritans of New England were related in belief, but had no other interest in common. The settlements in West New Jersey and at Burlington were made by Quakers guided by Penn and his co-proprietors, who had

purchased their rights from Carteret's partner, Berkeley. After these settlements, there were three governments existing in Jersey: the eastern colony under Carteret at Elizabethtown, composed of emigrants from all over New England and from Jamaica; the settlement at Burlington above referred to; and that made by the Fenwick Quakers at Salem, New Jersey. The best history of New Jersey, a compilation from original documents, is the work of Samuel Smith, 'The history of the colony of Nova-Caesaria, or New-Jersey: containing, an account of its first settlement,' Burlington, 1765. The Library's copy of this important book is the Rice-Menzies-Ives-Lefferts-Weeks copy, one of the two uncut copies known, with leaves $9\frac{11}{16}'' \times 6\frac{3}{8}''$. Inserted in this is the celebrated manuscript letter mentioned by Whitehead but never seen by him, in which the Earl of Bath, one of George Carteret's trustees after his death, offers for sale to Lord Norreys the "entire province, with all Royalties, privileges and advantages thereto belonging as sole proprietor; and a country almost as big as England planted already with several towns and many inhabitants . . . and the name thereof is East New Jersey, belonging to the late Vise Chamberlyne Sir George Carteret . . . and the price will be betwixt 5 and 6000 pounds." Carteret's interest in New Jersey was devised upon his death in 1680 to eight trustees, and this letter was a search for a purchaser. The method was not successful and finally,

when it was offered at public sale, William Penn and his associates became the purchasers at a price of 3400 pounds, a sale which was afterwards confirmed by the Duke of York.

The above letter and the subsequent sale reinforce the common belief that neither Carteret nor Berkeley had other interests than for prompt pecuniary profit. To the colonization of Elizabethtown they contributed nothing. The settlers "purchased a title to the soil from the Indians and secured a confirmation of it from Nichols." Grants of land were also made by Nichols to other settlers, and this confusion could not fail to bring about conflict between the Proprietor and the grantees, developing into a struggle that really ended only with the Revolution. The production of at least two important documents containing incidentally much information about the discontented settlers and their quarrels with the Proprietors came about from these conflicting claims. The renowned Elizabethtown Bill in Chancery was printed at New York in 1747, with the title: 'A bill in the Chancery of New Jersey, at the suit of John Earl of Stair, and others, proprietors of the eastern-division of New-Jersey.' This bill was drawn up principally by James Alexander, a prominent lawyer of New Jersey and New York. It was replied to in 'An Answer to a Bill in the Chancery of New Jersey at the suit of John, Earl of Stair,' New York, 1752. The counsel for the defendants were William Livingston and William

Smith, afterwards of Canada. Both bill and answer must ever be considered especially valuable historical documents.

The two provinces of New Jersey, both under proprietors, were the subject of many writings by settlers. They describe the colony, offer advice to immigrants, and sometimes give too highly colored pictures of the many advantages there. The most important of these are: George Scot of Pitlochrie's 'The Model of the government of the province of East-New-Jersey in America; and encouragements for such as designe to be concerned there,' Edinburgh, 1685; Thomas Budd's 'Good order established in Pennsylvania and New Jersey'; and Gabriel Thomas's 'An historical and geographical account of the province and country of Pennsylvania; and of West-New-Jersey,' London, 1698. Each of these books is rare, and the 'Model' is to the historian a reservoir of information about the early settlers, the localities, and the experiences of various individuals.

Of interest for New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland history is the grant given in 1634 to Sir Edmund Plowden and his associates for the territory included in the above states, and then called New Albion. The grant was rendered ineffective by that given to the Duke of York in 1664, heretofore referred to. The first pamphlet issued for the purpose of inducing emigration to this section was published in 1641, and in 1648 there appeared another

advertisement of Plowden's enterprise, under the title, 'A description of the province of New Albion. And a Direction for Adventurers with small stock to get two for one,' printed in the year 1648. The Henry Huth copy is in the Library. The preface is signed Beauchamp Plantagenet, a name regarded by some as fictitious. The efforts for colonization of Plantagenet's New Albion seem to have been abortive, and in 1651 Plowden's rights were offered for sale.

It is inevitable that with Pennsylvania we always associate William Penn, but we should associate him with New Jersey also. Not that he alone was responsible for the several Quaker settlements in the latter state, but in character and greatness Penn towers above the larger number of other patrons and adventurers who were associated with him in colonization enterprises. He may be likened in Pennsylvania and New Jersey history to the dominant Winthrop and Winslow in New England. Yet, withal, most writers are agreed that he had not the many elements of greatness belonging to Winthrop. My understanding of him is such that we can compare him more fairly with Roger Williams. Like Williams, and differing from his Quaker associates, Penn was tolerant to those who differed in creed; he was a lover of all mankind, sympathetic and bubbling over with humanity, and he always believed that good and the divine spirit dwelt in every man. A different history would be written of

Pennsylvania if, instead of Penn, his associates and the many other intolerant Quakers of that day had been the guiding spirits. Great honor is allotted to him for his just dealings with the Indians in the beginning, and throughout his life the attributes of fairness and toleration prevailed.

From the original manuscripts in various repositories containing material for a study of the early history of Pennsylvania, there have been printed the Colonial Records, the Pennsylvania Archives, the Colonial State Papers, Hazard's Annals, the Pennsylvania Magazine of History, and other similar works. Robert Proud, one of the best of the early colonial historians, preserved and published documents not elsewhere accessible. His 'History of Pennsylvania, in North America, from the original institution and settlement of that province,' Philadelphia, 1797-98, is an accurate compilation and secondary authority. The first historian of Pennsylvania was Samuel Smith, who wrote the history of New Jersey already referred to, and from Smith's manuscripts Proud extracted many facts.

The contemporary printed sources of Pennsylvania's history during the thirty years following Penn's grant, consist of many small publications giving important information, of which the Library has a representative number. The earliest is Penn's own 'Some account of the province of Pennsylvania in America,' London, 1681, issued in Dutch and German editions as well as in the English original.

The tract is an argument in favor of colonies, and his colony in particular. Information for emigrants is given, its primary purpose being to induce settlement. The next year Penn repeated the effort in nearly the same language in 'A brief account of the province of Pennsylvania.' The constitution which Penn proposed for his colony was issued in 1682 under the title, 'The frame of the government of the province of Pennsylvania.' Following this came the most important of all the series of William Penn's contributions, 'A letter from William Penn Proprietary and Governour of Pennsylvania in America . . . To which is added, an account of the city of Philadelphia,' London, 1683. This letter, the Huth copy of which is in the Library, was written after Penn had been in America over nine months and is a report from personal observations. It also appeared in Dutch, French, and German. Next in importance to this tract is Penn's 'A further account of the province of Pennsylvania and its improvements.' There is no title-page or imprint, but it is signed William Penn, 1685, and a copy is in the Library. These accounts, supplemented by Budd's 'Good order established in Pennsylvania' and 'A letter from Dr. More,' give sufficient information to picture the province at the time. Many, if not all, of the above were meant as bait for emigrants, and not the least important among them was Gabriel Thomas's 'An historical and geographical account of the province and country of Pennsylvania; and of

West-New-Jersey,' London, 1698. Thomas had resided in America, and his book with its map is a prime source. The Edgar-Crane copy, in primitive condition, is in the Library. Seldom referred to, but a first-hand account, is Richard Frame's 'A short description of Pennsylvania,' the only copy known being in the possession of the Library Company of Philadelphia; this is accessible in a reprint privately issued in 1867, and also in the series of photostat facsimiles made at the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Reference has been made to the voluminous collection of Quaker tracts in this Library. These were issued during the period of Quaker persecution in New England and while the Middle Colonies were being permanently settled. Many of the authors were close associates of Penn. George Keith was the most brilliant of them all, and of his writings the Library has a goodly lot. But with all his brilliancy, Keith was a restless trouble-maker and at the end of his life became a "strenuous and proselyting representative of the Church of England." Omitting church controversial tracts, his work 'A journal of travels from New-Hampshire to Caratuck,' London, 1706, has the most of historical interest. Sufficient mention has been made of George Fox's numerous writings, some of which if read would occupy the time of one of his sermons to his patient audience, viz., five hours.

Without considering further the Quaker religious

writers about Pennsylvania, we come to a production which deserves mention. This was written by another Keith, Sir William, who was governor of Pennsylvania from 1717 to 1726. He started to write a series entitled: 'The History of the British Plantations in America. With a chronological Account of the most remarkable Things, which happen'd to the first Adventurers in their several Discoveries of that New World.' Both the title and its inconclusive ending remind us of the New Englander, Thomas Prince. The series was not continued, but the beginning was of considerable merit. Part I has the sub-title: 'The history of Virginia, with Remarks on the Trade and Commerce of that Colony,' London, 1738. The Library's copy is uncut and in its original wrappers.

The many treaties between the colonial governments of Pennsylvania and of New York, principally with the Five Nations of Indians, made during the first half of the eighteenth century, are important in Colonial-Indian history. Furthermore, because these treaties were in nearly all cases issued from the press of the illustrious American, Benjamin Franklin, at Philadelphia, they are of prime interest to the early imprint collector. The Library contains several of them, as well as the reputed finest production of Franklin's press, the translation by Chief Justice Logan of 'M. T. Cicero's Cato Major or his Discourse of Old-Age,' Philadelphia, 1744. There are also some of his famous 'Poor

Richard's Almanacks.' Franklin's press also yielded important material relating to the colony, such as Charles Calvert's 'Articles of Agreement made and concluded upon between the Right Honourable the Lord Proprietary of Maryland, and the Honourable the Proprietarys of Pensilvania,' Philadelphia, 1733. Equally important are his 'A collection of all the laws of the province of Pennsylvania,' Philadelphia, 1742, with the 'Appendix,' and 'The charters of the province of Pennsylvania and city of Philadelphia' — all of which are in the Library.

Later events, concerning especially Indian and French relations, are narrated in William Smith's 'A brief view of the conduct of Pennsylvania,' London, 1756, and his 'A brief state of the province,' London, 1755, which bring Pennsylvania history to the period of the beginning of the Seven Years' War.

Sharing in one respect the belief of Mayhew, Mather, and Roger Williams, William Penn dealt in strange ethnological speculations. He traced to his own satisfaction the stock of the American natives to the Jewish tribes. The Spaniard, Las Casas, likewise accepted this view, and during the middle of the seventeenth century at least four important books on this subject were written, all in this Library. First there appeared Manasseh ben Israel's 'The hope of Israel,' in 1650, and in the same year Thomas Thorowgood's 'Ievves in America, or, Probabilities that the Americans are of that race.'

This was followed by a rejoinder from Hamon L'Estrange: 'Americans no Iewes, or Improbabilities that the Americans are of that race'; and a reply by Thorowgood was made to this in 1660, under the title: 'Jews in America, or Probabilities, that those Indians are Judaical, made more probable.' The last work is also important for the light it throws on the missionary endeavors of the "Apostle to the Indians," John Eliot.

Chapter XIII

THE SOUTHERN COLONIES

SOME of the source authorities for the earlier history of Maryland have been mentioned in connection with the subject of Virginia. The Jesuit account, of which the manuscript is in Loyola College, Baltimore, entitled 'A relation of the colony of the Lord Baron of Baltimore,' recites the voyage of the 'Ark and Dove,' and early life in the settlement. The second narrative, and the one of greatest value to the student of Lord Baltimore's plantation, is 'A Relation of Maryland; together, vvith a map of the countrey, the conditions of plantation,' which was printed at London in 1635. The Huth copy is in the Library. The book was prepared under Lord Baltimore's supervision and is an authoritative description of the country, the colonization, and the Indians. The map, often wanting but here present, is of especial interest in a consideration of the boundary disputes to which reference has been made, and the books pertaining thereto, viz., on the Maryland side 'Leah and Rachel,' 'Hammond versus Heamans,' and on the Virginia side 'Virginia and Maryland, or the Lord Baltimore's case uncased and answered,' Leonard Strong's 'Babylon's fall,' and the answer to this by Langford. The account

of the indented servant, George Alsop, entitled 'A Character of the province of Maryland,' London, 1666, is a rarity that did much to encourage emigration.

Simultaneously with the troubles with the Quakers and the Baptists, farther north a tract warfare was being carried on between the proprietor of Maryland and some of his colonists, in consequence of the oath of fidelity required by Lord Baltimore of all new comers. First there appeared Leonard Strong's 'Babylon's fall in Maryland,' written by a trouble-making Puritan who acted for the colonists as their agent in London and never stated plain facts. John Langford then wrote 'A just and cleere refutation of a false and scandalous pamphlet, entitled, Babylons fall in Maryland,' London, 1655, which defence was further augmented by Hammond's 'Leah and Rachel.' In fact, lacking in the spirit of reciprocity, the Puritan attack upon Maryland's attitude in religious matters did not cease until all restrictions against them had been withdrawn.

A great deal yet remains to be done for Maryland's history. Entrusted to the custody of the Maryland Historical Society are a large part of the state papers. Others exist in the State Library at Annapolis. The loss of many when the capitol was removed to Annapolis, and of others by fire, was a great calamity. Of the later and secondary source histories, Bozman's 'The history of Maryland, from

its first settlement, in 1633,' Baltimore, 1837, and Scharf's 'History of Maryland,' Baltimore, 1879, are the best compilations.

The Library has the earliest printed book on the subject of the history of the two Carolinas, called 'A Brief Description of the Province of Carolina on the coasts of Floreda,' London, 1666. It is a short description of the country and the proceedings of the settlers in 1664. The Crown sent Thomas Ash to the colony to investigate conditions, and under the title, 'Carolina; or A description of the present state of that country,' London, 1682, we find he did this work satisfactorily and gave a full report. Still later, John Archdale wrote 'A new description of that fertile and pleasant province of Carolina,' London, 1707, which added little to what had already been published.

Among books of the earlier period already considered is John Lederer's 'The Discoveries of John Lederer, in three several marches from Virginia, to the west of Carolina.' The map accompanying it, together with the map which should be found in the 'Brief Description' above, are the earliest maps of the Carolinas. Hilton's 'A relation of a discovery lately made,' also heretofore mentioned, gives an account of the expedition which first visited Port Royal and sailed along the coasts of the Carolinas.

The fact that the proprietors of the northern and southern Carolina colonies, while distinct in government, were under one corporation, has led to the

documents relating to them being mixed one with the other. Both, however, were dependent on the Lords of Trade and Plantation, or Board of Trade, and in consequence of this the English archives are unusually voluminous in matters pertaining to them. Samuel Wilson, secretary to the Proprietors of Carolina, wrote informingly about the laws, government and people, under the title: 'An Account of the Province of Carolina in America,' London, 1682; and John Lawson later wrote his 'A new voyage to Carolina,' London, 1709. So truthful and well written was this work that John Brickell pirated it under the title 'The Natural History of North-Carolina,' Dublin, 1737.

Among the later histories of the two Carolinas, compilations, and secondary authorities, in the Library, may be mentioned Williamson's 'North Carolina,' Martin's 'North Carolina,' Ramsay's 'South Carolina,' and Hewatt's 'An historical account of the rise and progress of the colonies of South Carolina and Georgia,' perhaps the most valuable of them all. Curious for its connection with the Northwest Territory history and cartography is Daniel Coxe's 'A description of the English province of Carolana, by the Spaniards call'd Florida,' London, 1726, from the fact that it contains a map showing the Great Lakes region — one of the earliest giving definite outline. The text is a compilation from various sources.

The colony of Georgia came into existence

through the efforts of James Edward Oglethorpe, a man of unblemished character and a member of the House of Commons. As a member of this body, he was made chairman of a committee to visit prisons and suggest measures of reform. While examining the prisoners confined for debt, men of respectable connections, guilty of no crime, yet subjected to legal thralldom most vile, his sympathy was excited, and out of this sympathy grew his plan for liberating them, upon the condition that they would become colonists in America. None of the depraved were included in this philanthropic scheme. The project was charitable, loyal, and patriotic, and so appealed to the British nation. Accordingly a charter for twenty years' existence was prepared and granted in June, 1732, and "The Trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia in America" soon after began their work. That all might be informed of the benevolent character of the undertaking, Oglethorpe himself prepared 'A new and accurate account of the provinces of South-Carolina and Georgia,' London, 1732. This gives concisely the designs of the Trustees. Benjamin Martyn, secretary of the Council, issued his 'Reasons for establishing the colony of Georgia,' London, 1733, with great effect, for the tract was widely circulated and in consequence there was a considerable emigration. The history of the province down to 1741 is told in Martyn's 'An Account shewing the Progress of the Colony of Georgia,' London, 1741, and in his 'An Impartial

Enquiry into the state and utility of the province of Georgia,' London, 1741. Both tracts are of great importance.

The settlement of Frederica, with an account of Savannah and the adjoining country, is told in Francis Moore's 'A voyage to Georgia. Begun in the year 1735,' London, 1744. The story of the transportation of the Saltzburghers to Georgia is given in William Best's 'The relief of the persecuted Protestants of Saltzburgh, and the support of the Colony of Georgia,' London, 1734. Criticism of the constitution of the colony and of Oglethorpe's administration, by a group of malcontents who had withdrawn to a neighboring colony, is the subject of Patrick Tailfer's 'A true and historical narrative of the colony of Georgia in America,' Charles-Town, 1741.

The constant menace to the very existence of the Georgia colony because of its proximity to the Spanish territory of Florida culminated in 1740 in a determination on General Oglethorpe's part to invade Florida and reduce St. Augustine. All this was in anticipation of an expected declaration of war between England and Spain, and led to the most disastrous episode in Oglethorpe's career, for the war did not follow. The expedition and its failure are clearly told in two tracts, the first 'An impartial account of the late expedition against St. Augustine under General Oglethorpe,' London, 1742, and the second, 'A relation or journal of a late expedition to

the gates of St. Augustine,' London, 1744. John Harris's 'A complete collection of voyages,' London, 1744-48, has one of the most adequate accounts of the province to that date, prefaced by an excellent map. The Library contains tracts, unnecessary to list here, rejoinders to those issued by Martyn and by malcontents of the colony, also the writings of Whitefield and Wesley, of a peaceful nature. Of the later histories and of secondary authority, Hewatt's 'Carolina and Georgia,' and the books on Georgia by De Brahm, Stevens, and McCall, all trustworthy histories, are in the Library.

Chapter XIV

THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WARS

THE colonists of France and of England joined actively in the succession of wars between the European powers that were waged from 1688 to 1755. The so-called King William's War, 1688-90, and Queen Anne's War, or the War of the Spanish Succession, — the latter bitterly fought by the French and English colonies, — are the subject of narratives of contemporary date in the Library. The chief English early authority for Queen Anne's, or, as it was sometimes known in New England, "Lovewell's War," is Samuel Penhallow's 'The history of the wars of New England with the Eastern Indians,' Boston, 1726.

The period from 1700 to the beginning of the French and Indian War in 1755 was fruitful in the holding of many Indian conferences and the making of treaties with the native chieftains. The Library contains a goodly number of these in their original printing. Possibly the most important of the treaties historically was the one made at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in 1744, which ceded to the English an indefinite extent of territory. This is in the Library; also 'The Proceedings of Commissioners on Indian Affairs from Six Provinces, met at Albany,

anno 1754.' Attached to the latter are some seventy-five letters and documents signed by members of the Convention. It will be remembered that at this Convention Benjamin Franklin proposed a plan for the union of the Anglo-American continental colonies, which was not adopted at the time but was revived in the days of the Revolution. The Shelburne Papers, of which more particular mention will be made later, contain comments upon the important Albany Congress and give the Halifax plan of union which was presented by the British ministry.

It seems strange to connect the politics and wars of Europe with colonial affairs in America. In 1842 Lord Macaulay, writing on Frederick the Great and his robbery of Silesia from Maria Theresa, notwithstanding the Pragmatic Sanction, commented on this event:

The evils produced by his wickedness were felt in lands where the name of Prussia was unknown: and in order that he might rob a neighbor whom he had promised to defend, black men fought on the coast of Coromandel, and red men scalped each other by the Great Lakes of North America.

The reflection of this event in America was King George's War between France and England, begun in 1744. The siege and capture of Louisburg by New England soldiers assisted by a British squadron were the cause of many a sermon, proclamation and broadside. The Library contains several entries, one of especial authority being the tract sent

by Pepperell to his friend in England and appearing under the title: 'A letter from William Shirley, Esq., Governor of Massachuset's Bay, to His Grace the Duke of Newcastle: with a Journal of the Siege of Louisbourg,' London, 1746. Rev. Charles Chauncey's sermon: 'Marvellous Things done by the Right Hand and Holy Arm of God in getting him the Victory,' Boston, 1745, and many of like kind preached by Byles, Prince and others, attest the interest and the participation of the colonies.

The important military events of the war are also related in 'An Account of the French Settlements in North America . . . claimed and improved by the French King,' Boston, 1746. The Library also has twenty-one original Louisburg papers in manuscript, which are of the greatest interest. The Articles of Capitulation of Louisburg, in June, 1745, are here, in the handwriting of Captain T. W. Waldron, being an absolutely contemporary copy from the original. This war lasted until 1748 and was terminated by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

Our chief interest, however, for the early eighteenth century is in the so-called French and Indian, or the Seven Years' War, really beginning in the colonies in 1755 (although war was not formally declared until 1756), and ending with the Treaty of Paris in 1763. Much might be written about the causes leading up to this struggle between the French and English, which terminated with complete domination by the English in North America.

The war marks an epoch in American history, from the fact that it eliminated the French as a formidable power. This is the period when England received her greatest colonial accessions, and with them a national debt unprecedented in history up to that time. The liquidation of this debt and the payment of the interest upon it led to colonial taxation by the mother country, which provided the principal cause of the Revolution. Whilst this war brought on the conditions leading to resistance, and many students of history begin the period of the Revolution with the ending of these hostilities, yet it would not be difficult to show that there were serious differences other than those of taxation between the colonists and the mother country, even as far back as the Restoration of Charles II in 1660. The king's prerogative early brought about divergences of opinion, long before Navigation Laws, Acts of Trade, Writs of Assistance and other measures led to actual hostilities.

The books, pamphlets, and tracts in the Library on the war, printed between 1754 and 1768, number over two hundred, and obviously it is impossible here to mention even all those of great importance. Among the general accounts which reflect current opinion or give contemporary record of the most startling events may be mentioned Mitchell's 'The Contest in America between Great Britain and France,' London, 1757; 'A Complete History of the Present War,' London, 1761; and the most valuable

of all, with its eighteen maps and plans, Thomas Mante's 'History of the Late War in North-America . . . including the Campaigns of 1763 and 1764 against His Majesty's Indian Enemies,' London, 1772. Captain John Knox's 'An Historical Journal of the Campaigns in North America,' London, 1769, and John Entick's 'General History of the Late War,' London, 1763-64, are the largest, and on the whole trustworthy authorities.

The earliest colonial newspaper, the *Boston News Letter*, published its first number in 1705. Thereafter, until the days of the Revolution, this paper furnishes a medium of information on current events, and for this and the preceding wars much of interest may be gleaned from it. The *Boston Gazette*, founded in 1719, the *New England Courant* in 1721, and the *Newport Mercury*, by James Franklin, in 1758, also may be used to advantage. In the newspaper section of the Library are photostatic files, complete as far as possible, of the *News Letter* and the *Mercury*, with broken files of the *Gazette* and *Courant*. From the English viewpoint, much more may be learned from the files in the Library of the *Annual Register*, the *London Gazette*, and the *London Chronicle*. And a complete file of the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' beginning in 1731, is a reservoir of information.

Of great importance and nearly the sole source for information on the forts on the frontiers is Mary Ann Rocque's 'A set of plans and forts in America,

reduced from actual surveys,' London, 1763. This book is rare and for a study of the military aspect of the war is of infinite use.

Of the spectacular doings of the ranger, Major Robert Rogers, whose work during the early part of the war was of the utmost value to the English and whose daring exploits have connected his name with many a spot on the lakes, we have several narratives. His own writings, not always modest when speaking of himself, are the 'Journals of Major Robert Rogers,' London, 1765, and his 'Concise Account of North America,' published at London the same year. And here let it be mentioned that in this war he performed his last meritorious service to his country and to himself: had Rogers died immediately after this war he would have been a hero; as it was, he died a scoundrel and a traitor.

The early years of the war are of considerable interest because of the advent of George Washington into military training and into public affairs. The Dinwiddie Papers, now in print, are source materials for the military operations at Great Meadows and Fort Necessity, which were so disastrous to the English. With these should be consulted Charles Thomson's 'Enquiry into the Causes of the Alienation of the Delaware and Shawanese Indians,' London, 1759, and Thomas Jefferys's 'General Topography of North America.' The latter shows the route of Washington in his campaign of 1754. Of greater interest, however, is his own

'Journal of Major George Washington sent by the Hon. Robert Dinwiddie . . . to the Commandant of the French Forces on Ohio, Williamsburg printed': London, reprinted, 1754. Washington kept another journal, which fell into the hands of the French at Fort Necessity. Two years later, translated into French and in garbled condition, it appeared as '*Mémoire contenant le précis des faits, avec leurs pièces justificatives, pour servir de réponse aux Observations envoyées par les ministres d'Angleterre, dans les cours de l'Europe*,' Paris, 1756. In 1757 the above was translated into English, and published by William Livingston in a tract with the title: 'Review of the military operations in North America,' London, 1757. This included the re-Englished journal and an account of Braddock's defeat.

'The Expedition of Major General Braddock to Virginia,' London, 1755, is a rare and, according to Parkman, not a truthful narrative. 'Six Plans of the Different Dispositions of the English Army under the Command of the Late General Braddock,' London, 1758, was printed for Jeffreys, the cartographer and publisher, and graphically shows the battle. But three copies of this atlas are recorded. A detailed report of the defeat is given in the Rev. Charles Chauncey's 'A Letter to a Friend; giving a concise, but just, Account . . . of the Ohio Defeat,' Boston, 1755. Important source material has also been collected and reprinted in Winthrop Sargent's

'Braddock's Expedition.' The series of forty-six letters known as 'L'Observateur hollandois . . . sur l'état present des affaires de l'Europe,' La Haye, 1755-59, in six volumes, throws much light on the period. They were written by Monsieur Moreau, historian of France, and privately printed. General affairs of the war, the death of Jumonville, the surrender of Fort Necessity, and Braddock's expedition are described. Sets of the work are rare.

Of the Niagara expedition, planned by Braddock for Shirley and ending without result, the Library has the anonymous tract, 'The Conduct of Major Gen. Shirley . . . briefly stated,' possibly written by Shirley himself, but generally ascribed to William Alexander; Chauncey's 'Second Letter to a Friend'; and Livingston's 'Review.'

Dieskau's campaign, which ended with his defeat by Sir William Johnson, is best told in Hutchinson's 'History,' and in Chauncey's 'Second Letter.' A rare and important tract relating to Crown Point is the privately printed 'An Answer to a Letter from a Gentleman in the Country to his Friend in Town,' New York, Parker, 1756.

The master mind of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, came to the rescue of England in her darkest hour of defeat in the French War. The early campaigns had been disastrous. Loudon was recalled. Sir Jeffrey Amherst was made Major-General and sent to take Louisburg with a view to reaching Quebec, which he promptly accomplished. This

story is told in 'Authentic Account of the Reduction of Louisburg,' London, 1758. In this work, General Wolfe first appears as a brilliant officer. The campaigns of Abercrombie against Crown Point and of Forbes against Fort Duquesne are best told in the current newspaper accounts, and in the official reports in the English Public Record Office, many of which have been printed. These records include General Amherst's letters, his instructions to Prideaux, and the letters of Johnson to Amherst. The source materials for all the campaigns and accompanying events are plentiful and accurate for both the English and French sides. Upon the English side, 'A Letter to the Right Honorable William Pitt,' London, 1759, deserves mention, and in reviewing the French situation, foremost among the special histories of the war is the 'Mémoires sur la dernière guerre' of Pouchot, which in 1866 was rendered into English by Hough, with the title, 'Memoir upon the Late War in North America, between the French and English, 1755-60; followed by observations,' Roxbury, 1866.

The greatest single event of the whole war was the capture of Quebec by Wolfe in 1759. His bravery and daring when suffering physical distress, and finally his spectacular death at the moment of victory on the Plains of Abraham, are the first and last remembrances of the contest. Englishmen regard him as one of their military heroes, and are ever grateful to him for winning Canada for the

British Empire. Possibly our early, and great, American painter, Benjamin West, has assisted in making him an American hero, also, by his realistic painting of Wolfe's death amid the battle scene. His ringing last words, with victory present, are taught the English schoolboy along with Nelson's last sentence at Trafalgar. Montcalm, the victim of jealousy and corruption, was an equally brave Frenchman. His love for his country and his honor, though defeated, have given him as high a place in the pride of all Frenchmen.

Many are the contemporary journals and narratives of the siege of Quebec, both from the English and from the French viewpoint. One of these is the manuscript of Jonathan French in this Library, narrating his experiences in the campaign of 1757. The Shelburne Papers offer a field for further investigation of the military and diplomatic relations of the times, which only careful study can properly unravel and place in condition for the investigator's use. Most of these journals have now been printed and the Library possesses a number of these publications. The accounts in the 'Annual Register' have been compiled with care. But the work surpassing all others as a voluminous compilation is a recent publication entitled 'The Siege of Quebec and the Battle of the Plains of Abraham,' by A. Doughty, Quebec, 1901, in six volumes. This work includes much of the material in private ownership, heretofore unpublished. But much more, pertaining to

the earlier part of the war and to Quebec, undoubtedly still remains in private libraries. Two instances are the Abercrombie Papers, in numerous volumes, and the official correspondence, of General Robert Monckton, both sold at London in 1921 to private collectors. The Province of Quebec has published a collection of manuscripts in twelve volumes under the title: 'Collection des manuscrits du maréchal de Lévis,' Quebec, 1889-95, which includes the journals and letters of M. de Burlamaqui, Marquis de Montcalm, Marquis de Vaudreuil, the intendant Bigot, and miscellaneous relations, adding these to the already long list of materials available for study.

For the progress of the armies of Amherst, after the capture of Montreal, and for the end of the war, Knox, Mante, and Rogers's 'Journal' give satisfactory accounts. Of Major Robert Rogers's expedition westward, under General Amherst's orders, for securing the possession of Detroit, and of its surrender, we have an account in his 'Journal.'

The much censured Vaudreuil, Bigot, and Cadet, on their return to France, were subjected to trials for enormities which are recorded in 'Observations on Certain Peculations in New France.' These matters are also more fully considered in the three volumes of 'Mémoire pour Messire François Bigot, ci-devant Intendant de Justice, . . . en Canada, accusé,' Paris, 1763. This work is a refutation by Bigot of the charges against him, after he was ban-

ished for life and his estates confiscated. There is in the third volume the official 'Jugement rendu,' also a 'Mémoire' by Vaudreuil, who was acquitted, giving a summary of his defence. There is much source material in these volumes, of which the copies at Quebec, Harvard, and in this Library are the only ones we can locate with complete texts.

Of collateral interest is the account of the siege of Detroit by Pontiac three years after the French surrender to the English. The valuable fur trade with the Indians, enjoyed by the French for many years, as well as the coveted friendships with them, were threatened, possibly destroyed, by the English. Stories which circulated among the Indians, of a forthcoming French army for the recapture of Detroit, were believed, and undoubtedly there were other reasons to convince Pontiac and his allies that success would attend their efforts to drive out the English. The siege and attendant bloody encounters about Detroit were the outcome, in the summer of 1763. In the fourth volume of the Munsell Historical Series a narrative is printed from a manuscript purporting to have been written by Major Rogers. No proof of such authorship is offered, but a conclusion is reached that it is the journal which he advertised as forthcoming, in his last book published. The manuscript was sold in the Menzies library in 1876, and this account has always been accepted as authoritative for the events of the siege. The story of the discovery of the manuscript in a

Swiss bookshop, and its identification, is a romance for the book collector. At the sale of the Henry F. DePuy Library a long letter by Captain James MacDonald—one of a series of four written during the summer to a brother officer in England—came to light. Further investigation brought out the fact that two of the four letters were bound up with the Henry Bouquet papers at the British Museum and that the remaining one was in the hands of an English collector. The last was recently added to this Library, together with photographs of those in the British Museum. These letters furnish a new and circumstantial account of the siege, which is of especial interest to Michigan historians.

The affair at Detroit was but one part of a widespread Indian War, joined in by the French, against the English. Information about this is best obtained from the work of Dr. William Smith, provost of the College of Philadelphia, under the title: 'An Historical Account of the Expedition against the Ohio Indians, in the year 1764, under the command of Henry Bouquet,' Philadelphia, 1765. The map accompanying the volume was made by Thomas Hutchins. The London reprint, as well as the edition in French, 'Relation historique de l'expédition contre les Indiens,' is in the Library. Bouquet was sent by General Amherst to the relief of Fort Pitt in 1763, and in the following year he was sent against the Ohio Indians. The manuscripts, letters, and documents of Bouquet relating to mili-

tary events in America from 1757 to 1765, occupy thirty volumes in the British Museum.

The treaty signed at Paris, on the 10th of February, 1763, extinguished the French empire in North America. The event marks an epoch in American history, as in that of France and England. France lost the colonies upon which she had expended much treasure. Her ambitions for continental control were frustrated. Her humiliation was deep and keenly felt, and for years the rancor remained in her heart which finally found expression in open assistance to the English colonists in their effort for independence. In the days of 1778, whetted by the judicious Franklin, the feeling of hatred toward England and of revenge for past defeats burst forth in the French people so passionately and powerfully, that neither the king nor his ministers could stem the tide. Help to the colonists was first given secretly. Beaumarchais's companies and their activities were but poorly concealed. Finally open assistance was given, with resultant war between England and France. Like knights of old came Lafayette and his associates, with good will to the new spirit of independence; but back of all lay hatred for England and the desire for revenge, as well as for the curbing of English power.

Chapter XV

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

THE contest between the military and naval power of Great Britain and that of her colonies in North America was the ultimate expression of pronounced differences in opinion, not of the inhabitants of the colonies and the mother country as units, but of the Conservative or Tory, and liberal or Whig elements of the population on both sides of the Atlantic. The many hundreds of controversial pamphlets written and published during those times that tried men's souls were the expression in the colonies of the political differences between the patriot or American Whig, and the Loyalist or Tory pamphleteers. And while the Loyalists' pamphlets were in the minority, their case had able advocates. On the other side of the Atlantic, Whig and Tory partisans in Parliament engaged in conflicts as bitter as any that took place upon the battlefields. The speeches of Chatham, Shelburne, Barré, Camden, Conway, Burke, and Fox, although not always agreeing with all the principles for which the colonists were fighting, or with the remedies they advocated, yet were so in sympathy with the colonists' cause in general that it is safe to

say there would have been no revolution had Parliament and the king been with them.

For an understanding of these differences, which caused such a battle of the pamphleteers, let us very briefly state: (1) the grievances of the colonists with the mother country; (2) the attitude of the colonists; (3) the differences in the two parties in England as to colonial policy and governmental principles, thereby offering subject-matter for all those who felt called upon to engage in the discussion of the controversy.

The grievances of the colonists were many. They began as early as 1660, and until the rupture England was still enacting laws whose enforcement produced irritation. First came Navigation Laws, the intent of which was to give Great Britain world naval supremacy. Then, at the instigation of the mercantile classes of England, Acts of Trade were passed to control colonial commerce. Following these came acts to prevent the establishment of manufacturing in the colonies, with the purpose of protecting British manufactures. In order to enforce the above, colonial admiralty courts, boards of customs, etc., were established. Then came the port charges for commercial towns, all in the interests of the British manufacturers. The colonial policy for years had been dictated by the mercantile and manufacturing classes of England. The people and the government came to regard the colonies as feeders for the trade, navigation, and manu-

factures of the parent state. Even Pitt, Burke, and Shelburne accepted this view. The Library contains copies of many, if not all, of these acts as presented in Parliament. The doctrine and the enactment of these laws came to be a commercial policy, not a political expedient.

The enforcement of the Navigation Laws was taken seriously in hand for the first time in 1755. To prevent the evasions that had long been practised, the government now put into use the most formidable weapon for enforcement, the "Writ of Assistance." Then it was, in 1761, that the lawyer James Otis resisted the granting of these writs before the Superior Court of Massachusetts. John Adams wrote of this bold action: "Then and there was the first scene of the first act of opposition to the arbitrary claims of Great Britain. Then and there the child of independence was born." This famous speech of Otis's was never printed except from the notes made by John Adams. Shortly thereafter, — in 1762, — Otis's 'A Vindication of the Conduct of the House of Representatives' was published. This, according to Tudor, "may be considered the original source from which all subsequent arguments against taxation were derived." And again John Adams says: "How many volumes are concentrated in this little fugitive pamphlet, the production of a few hurried hours! . . . Look over the Declaration of rights and wrongs issued by Congress in 1774. Look over the Declaration

of Independence in 1776. Look into the writings of Doctor Price and Doctor Priestley. . . . What can you find that is not to be found in solid substance in this Vindication of the House of Representatives?"

Tyler speaks of the Revolution as a drama in which Otis was a very great actor. His mighty part, however, was played and completed in the earlier acts. At the outset no one is so prominent. He even speaks the prologue. "It is he who rushes upon the front of the stage in the first scene, in the second, in the third. As the play goes on, he is still in the foreground — his flashing eyes, his passionate words, his gestures of anger or of supplication, his imperious personality, seeming to direct the course of events and to mark him the hero of the whole plot. But, suddenly, long before the climax is reached he disappears from the stage altogether." James Otis has no real part in the Revolution after 1769.

Jonathan Mayhew's 'Unlimited Submission and Non-resistance to the Higher Powers,' published in 1750, was written for the purpose of repelling the proposed establishment of Episcopacy in America. This was another of the causes of discontent. The controversy has been written about extensively and is covered in the Library by the Nelson collection of Episcopacy pamphlets. The principles announced by Mayhew place his tract with Otis's 'Vindication,' with his 'The Rights of the British Colonies

Asserted and Proved,' and his 'Considerations on Behalf of the Colonists.' In the last Otis declared for commercial and political independence, and his expressed anticipation of results was verified by the forthcoming conflict. About these important pamphlets may be grouped at least a hundred others, first published in America before 1776 and mostly reprinted in England, on one side or the other of the burning questions. The above are included in the second heading under our plan of consideration.

The time was at hand when every man had to pass the trying ordeal of deciding what he thought and what he must do. His life and property with the welfare of his family were at stake. When the project for independence became the issue, then the advocates of the rights of the colonists, who were not in accord on many paramount questions, but who as a whole might be called American Whigs, divided into two groups. One of these, including Daniel Dulany, Joseph Galloway, and John Joachim Zubly, who never assented to independence and remained firm in this opinion, came to form the body of the Tory or Loyalist element, some mild, and others militant in spirit. Starting with the same opinions as the above, those who became patriots in action and in writings, like Robert Morris, James Wilson, John Dickinson, William Smith, and many others, reluctantly but surely succumbed to the pressure of events. Thereafter they put forth their utmost efforts for independence and in many cases made the greatest sacrifices.

Party changes were frequent and pronounced. Daniel Dulany in 1765 issued his 'Considerations on the Propriety of Imposing Taxes,' with 'North America' in the imprint as the place of publication. With convincing logic he fixed upon the true issue. The colonies were to be taxed without representation. He demonstrated that this was illegal, and to his many followers he proved it. Had he held firmly to this opinion, as then expressed, to the point of resistance, he would have stood with Otis, Adams, Hamilton and the host of patriots. But he promptly and decidedly faced about in July, 1776. Although he always denied the propriety of Parliament taxing the colonies, he regarded independence as seditious and revolutionary. Thereafter he was bitterly denounced as a Tory — his property was confiscated, and he retired from all activities, never to be heard of again on the pages of history.

When the crisis was reached, thoughts crystallized quickly. Those of one side appeared in the writings of Samuel Seabury, Joseph Galloway, Daniel Leonard, Jonathan Odell, and of the other, with equal force, from their Whig opponents. Bitterness began with the gathering of the first Continental Congress in 1774. Then both contestants saw that a great crisis was impending, and each side was so earnest in its convictions that it soon became clear that lives would be laid down in defence of beliefs. After July 4, 1776, there was no longer place for further pamphlet controversy and

argument. From then to the end, the productions of those Loyalists who dared to write and publish their works surreptitiously in America, or who fled to England and there expressed themselves, were emotional and sometimes vindictive. In many cases misrepresentation and even deliberate lying were indulged in. All argumentative discussion disappeared.

We have been taught from childhood that one sentence settled the whole question of the right to independence. Americans have no doubt about the constitutional merit of the controversy. "Taxation without representation is tyranny" — and with such a belief we had a right to be free and independent. That the Loyalists did not immediately subside and agree was due to their stupidity. They admitted "No taxation without representation," but everything hinged on the meaning of the word "representation." There the argument began, and even to this day it is not decisively finished. Writs of Assistance were measures for the enforcement of taxation laws, and such methods Otis satisfactorily opposed as illegal, even as in our day the right of search for contraband has settled into an invasion of personal rights.

With the foregoing brief explanation of the party differences in the ranks of the colonists, let us as briefly consider the third aspect of our survey: the differences between the two parties in England as to colonial policy and governmental principles.

The hero of the English people in 1760, when George II died, was Pitt. The crisis of the struggle for English or French domination was passed. The new king, however, had not been educated in the school of Pitt. He had grown up under the care of the Earl of Bute, a staunch and bigoted believer in royal prerogative, who instilled in George III the belief that his chief function in life was to break the power of the wealthy landholding Whig houses. The party which this new king was to organize and head had no predecessor in history. The Toryism of the Stuarts or of later reigns was not that of the days of 1770. The word hate is the only one to use in expressing the inward feeling of George III toward Pitt, the greatest Whig of the century, and the king freed himself of him in 1761, for there was no harmony within the Whig party to combat him.

Thereupon all the methods of corruptive influence were employed, and continued to be used until the overthrow of Lord North in 1782. Trevelyan scathingly exposes these methods of bribery — the use of sinecures and of patronage, indulged in by the king with the purpose of dominating Parliament and making it an instrument of his desires. He gathered about him dependents who voted in Parliament as he wanted. Lord Bute and the king's Prime Minister, however, could not maintain their majority, and resigned in 1763. George Grenville succeeded Bute and held his office until 1765. Grenville, a Whig but not representing a united party,

reflected the king's wishes in the enactments which passed Parliament. The so-called Townshend Act, which became a law in 1764, was an extension of the Navigation Acts of 1733; it exacted increased duties on sugar and it prohibited trade with the French colonies — in addition to other obnoxious regulations. The man who first suggested a stamp act as a means of defraying the expenses incurred during the French and Indian War was Governor Shirley of Massachusetts. Doubtless it was by his advice that Grenville formulated the famous Stamp Act, to which his name has always been attached. Its passage in 1765 and repeal in January, 1766, when Grenville had passed out of office, are familiar historical facts. The will of the king was unshaken, but he had to heed the powerful Whig demand for Pitt, the personification of honesty. As Pitt was unwilling to subordinate himself to the king's wishes, the Marquis of Rockingham was chosen Prime Minister. Thus a Whig administration came into power, but again representing only a portion of the party. When George III began his policy of dividing the great Whig families, those noblemen and gentlemen who did not choose to join the sections headed by the Grenvilles, the Duke of Bedford, and others, had selected as their chief the Marquis of Rockingham. The Duke of Grafton and General Conway were his Secretaries of State. Internal cabinet dissensions followed, and as a result Rockingham was succeeded as Prime Minister by

the Duke of Grafton in May, 1766. Such a struggle of interests as there was in England at this time could not give strength to any government, and George III was keen enough to see his opportunity. There was a popular desire in England that America should be taxed and the king became its leading advocate. He and his government derived much strength from their attitude on taxation, thoroughly honest in this as they undoubtedly were in all their other mistakes.

With taxation the paramount issue, Lord North became Prime Minister in 1770. He and Bute were professedly the king's servants, and North was the king's equal in strategy. The strongholds of the Whigs were attacked and they soon capitulated. One member of this ministry, Charles Fox, stood out for a liberal policy, and he was at once dismissed. With the entry of North to office, an administration began which lasted until 1782, nearly the entire period of the American Revolution.

It would be a long story to narrate the important happenings and political changes during this period. Trevelyan in his 'Revolution and George III' vividly pictures the methods employed by the king to have his wishes recognized by Parliament. He controlled, both body and soul, a sufficient number of members through various means to give him absolute domination. Press subsidies and numerous similar means were used to control public opinion. Much of this was successful because of the hopeless

divisions in the Whig party, while the consolidated Tories were in harmony with the king, whose policy gave them a taste of power, for the first time in many years.

Lord North's administration was one long period of absolute control by the king, but to the credit of the Prime Minister, it must be said that he asked the king to accept his resignation after the defeat of Burgoyne. Living in the midst of corruption, North has never been accused of dishonesty. But Rigby, his Paymaster of the Forces, "with his arms up to his elbows in a heap of Treasury gold," will have a place forever in the history of dishonesty. For inefficiency in office, Lord George Germain has an equally unenviable reputation. The irresistible agitation for reform and for economy began in 1780, and North resigned in 1782, after the surrender of Cornwallis.

The king offered the Earl of Shelburne an opportunity to form a ministry, but he rejected it, owing to divisions in his own party. The Marquis of Rockingham was then called upon, and for the second time he organized a cabinet of pure old Whigs, disciples of the Earl of Chatham, with the support of Shelburne, Portland, Fox, and Burke. Shelburne became Secretary of State for the Colonies, with Charles Fox as Secretary for Foreign Affairs. The reduction of expenses and the suppression of political sinecures were the first projects of this new ministry, and it supported the demand

for negotiations for peace with America. As soon as these negotiations were started, quarrels began at once between Shelburne and Fox as to whose should be the directing voice. These dissensions grew into enmity. In the midst of it all, Rockingham died.

The selection of Shelburne by the king, at this time, as Rockingham's successor is of particular interest in the present connection, because of the fact that this Library possesses many of his manuscripts. The appointment of Shelburne gave great offence to Charles Fox and to some of the other former followers of Rockingham. Nevertheless he formed his ministry, with William Pitt, the leader of the House of Commons, as his Chancellor of the Exchequer, and including Grafton and Thurlow.

From the period of the Stamp Act to the time of the peace negotiations, English trade and commerce with the colonists suffered severely. The self-denying measures of the colonists were not without serious effect. Taxation increased steadily, and the wails of the tradesmen, exporters and manufacturers, as well as of the unemployed, were strong and more and more insistent. In 1782 the notoriously corrupt influences at work for the support of a now unpopular war, and the distress of trade, led to demands for a change which even the king could not ignore. Early in 1783 the terms of peace were under discussion. In these Shelburne's was the guiding mind. The negotiations were carried

through, as were proposals for the reduction of expenses, both of which annoyed the king. The peace negotiations were nearly completed under Shelburne, before he resigned in February, 1783, to be succeeded by the Coalition Ministry, made up of Portland, Fox, North, and Cavendish, which in its turn survived but a few months.

Under such chaotic party conditions, we might surmise what the controversial pamphlets are. Of all kinds — pro- or anti-colonial or pro-English in sympathy — written in support of or in criticism of the actions of party leaders in Parliament and dealing with the many vital questions of the day. Such support or criticism was often expressed in a 'Letter,' a 'Reply,' or 'Thoughts' addressed to the victim. The 'Letters' addressed to Pitt, Bute, Rockingham, Grafton, North, Shelburne, Burke, and Fox, number more than a hundred. The vast extent of this literature may be appreciated when it is stated that the Library contains at least two thousand titles, written from the English viewpoint of the questions, including the various editions and issues, but not including the reprints of the American pamphlets.

Chapter XVI

PAMPHLETEERS OF THE REVOLUTION

THERE are many reasons for dwelling at length upon what is probably the strongest section of the Library. On the subject of the causes leading to the Revolution, the conflict itself, including all the military phases of it, the peace negotiations, and finally the claims of the Loyalists and the counter-claims of the colonists, not less than thirty-five hundred entries — chiefly bound pamphlets of contemporary date — are available for our examination. Possibly at that time pamphleteering was at its highest tide. It must not be inferred, however, that the newspaper article was not coming into vogue, and this should likewise be considered. Both forms of writing were characteristic of the time.

John Adams's four important articles on the Stamp Act were originally published in the *Boston Gazette* in August, 1765, and his 'Novanglus,' a reply to 'Massachusettensis,' appeared in the *Boston Gazette* during January and April, 1775. The *New London Gazette* in September, 1765, published the important dissertation of Stephen Johnson. The 'Pretty Story' of Francis Hopkinson of New Jersey, which Tyler describes as a "neat and telling bit of work," was distributed like a handbill to the mem-

bers of the first Continental Congress, as they passed the door of Carpenters' Hall. The Loyalists also used the newspapers freely to set forth their side of the question, and the Library has many of the papers containing these contributions.

The printing presses of the colonies were hard at work. There were few which did not contribute liberally to the large number of American imprints which are to-day eagerly sought for by the important libraries and by collectors. Many of the original American editions of the patriot pamphlets are as rare as the source books of the Discovery and Colonial periods, probably because of the small editions printed and of carelessness in preservation. The essays of Stephen Hopkins, Governor of Rhode Island, and the replies of Martin Howard of Newport are very rare. In fact, these so-called "Halifax Gentleman" pamphlets are in few libraries in their original printing. Even Otis's reply to the "Halifax Libel," popular as it was, is now represented by but nine copies on record.

It is fortunate, indeed, that the major portion of these pamphlets written by the argumentative American Whigs, or by their Loyalist adversaries, passed through several editions, and were reprinted in England. The Library has upon its shelves the original issues of many of them, and when these scarce editions are lacking, then the later, but still contemporary, printings published in England or in newspaper columns.

It would be tedious to mention here all the titles of the pamphlets of Oxenbridge Thatcher, Stephen Hopkins, John and Samuel Adams, Stephen Johnson, Francis Hopkinson, John Dickinson, Arthur Lee, Josiah Quincy, Richard Wells, Charles Lee, William Henry Drayton, William Livingston, Charles Chauncey, Samuel Cooper, and the satirical writings of Philip Freneau and John Trumbull, which served their purpose quite as effectively as the more serious arguments. They are all represented in the Library, as well as the effusions of those who wrote and sometimes fought and bled for their opinions on the other side. Such men were Martin Howard, Daniel Dulany, Daniel Leonard, Joseph Galloway, Samuel Seabury, Jonathan Boucher, Jonathan Odell, the turncoat Jacob Duché, Myles Cooper, and Thomas Bradbury Chandler, who had equal notoriety for his advocacy of the Anglican Episcopate.

The details of passing events during the long life of John Adams are told in his letters to his wife and in her equally famous letters to him. We are not left in doubt of the efficacious work of Benjamin Franklin, his abilities and disabilities. His dislike and distrust of Thomas Paine were probably fully justified. Yet it may be said that no two men working with their pens did more toward the success of the colonists than Adams and Paine. The cool, reasoning statements of Adams are in strong contrast to Paine's fiery, volatile, but wonderfully

clear presentation of facts, as he set forth the cause of the colonists and the tyranny of England, his native country. As Mayhew's 'Unlimited Submission' and Otis's 'The Rights of the British Colonies Asserted and Proved' were the first declaration of these rights, so it is equally true that Paine's 'Common Sense,' published in January, 1776, was the first undisguised utterance boldly demanding independence. Much has been written to prove that prior to its appearance, and the electrifying effects of its reading throughout the colonies, few or none of the Whig leaders had suggested separation from the mother country. Certainly no one wrote that he concurred in the thought. That Paine and his writings wielded an immense influence is undoubted. Of his numerous essays, some passing through as many as eight editions before 1800, the Library has no less than two hundred different issues.

In Tyler's opinion, the "Farmer" letters of John Dickinson were equalled in literary merit by no other serious political essays of the period. Samuel Seabury, later the first bishop of the American Episcopal Church, who wrote under the name of the "Westchester Farmer," and his controversy with Alexander Hamilton, have more than ordinary interest. I have before me his first work, 'Free Thoughts on the Proceedings of the Continental Congress, held at Philadelphia, September 5, 1774,' which first appeared in November, 1774. Twelve

days thereafter another equally fiery and powerful essay appeared: 'The Congress Canvassed, or An Examination into the Conduct of the Delegates at their Grand Convention, held in Philadelphia.'

The first pamphlet produced great commotion among the Whigs, and answers came from all quarters. Our interest, however, is in one reply made by a then unknown writer, which is before me in the form of a sewed, foxed pamphlet of thirty-five pages, printed by James Rivington, New York, 1774. Its title is 'A Full Vindication of the Measures of the Congress, from the Calumnies of their Enemies,' and it is signed, "A Friend to America." The writer's name, then concealed, we now know to be Alexander Hamilton, "the marvellous boy" then but seventeen years of age. The other pamphlets of Seabury are here in their first issues, and it may be said of them and of Seabury that in later years full justice has been done his writings, and when he "laid down his office with his life, a multitude of persons who formerly hated him, had come to pay him honor, as one of a sort of men always likely to be much needed in this part of the world — men who, for a cause they believe to be right, are capable of sacrificing public favor, private comfort and even life itself."

'The Crisis' was a title used for several of these pamphlets, the one most commonly known being an effusion of Thomas Paine. But collectors meet frequently with parts of another series of essays with

this title, evidently from the same original but by different American printers. Paul Leicester Ford found the original to be an English publication, a weekly paper, modeled upon 'The North Briton,' issued in small folio, and each issue containing from four to eight pages. I quote from Ford: "What makes this periodical remarkable, and of particular interest to American collectors, is its bold advocacy of the cause of the colonies, even after they declared their independence, and its unmeasured abuse of those who favored the subjection of America." Twenty-eight numbers were issued before it was suppressed by the English government. In audacious expressions against the king and those who desired the subjection of the colonists, it is unsurpassed. A file of this serial, complete, as in the Library, is a rarity. The publication of it in England, probably at the expense of ardent colonial sympathizers either in France or America, is an early example of aggressive propaganda for a cause.

The first work of Moses Coit Tyler, 'The History of American Literature,' which was written at Ann Arbor, is not exceeded in value to the bibliographer and student by any other publication on the subject. The contributions of our first American writers are critically examined and adequately weighed. From his greater work, 'The Literary History of the American Revolution,' we receive inspiration through his keen exposition of the host of patriotic

writers whose work he discusses. From him we learn to respect, and are often led to an agreement with, the views of the Loyalists.

There is no Tyler to guide us through the mass of pamphlets printed in England during this time, and only a study of the party leaders clarifies the situation. In general, it may be stated that there were many members of the Whig party who were in partial sympathy with the colonists, and who were bold enough to attach their names to their contributions. Of these the following are representative: the Earl of Abingdon, supporter of Edmund Burke, Charles James Fox, Caleb Evans, strong opponent of Wesley, Bryan Edwards, Thomas Day, Thomas Pownall, James Callander, John Cartwright. To these should be added a host of anonymous writers who, under the titles of 'Thoughts,' 'Letters,' 'Examinations,' etc., 'of the present situation,' argued in general for the cause of the colonists.

Particularly influential for their support of the Earl of Shelburne, criticizing severely Lord North's administration, were the 'Letters of Junius.' These excited so much interest during many years that no less than twenty-five volumes are in the Library discussing the identity of the mysterious author, now believed to have been Sir Philip Francis. No writer of the time was more feared for his caustic criticisms.

Representative of the writings of those who were

in sympathy with the king and ministry are tracts from the pens of former Governor Francis Bernard, Soame Jenyns, George Grenville, Richard Price, William Bollan, Nathaniel Buckingham, an admirer of North, John Gray, and Thomas Hutchinson, the ablest of them all except Dr. Samuel Johnson, whose 'Taxation no Tyranny' was written to reciprocate a kingly favor. The pamphlets in defence of General John Burgoyne were clear expositions of Lord George Germain's incompetency. Those of Sir William Howe, explaining his military career, showed that his sympathies were half with the so-called rebels. Those on behalf of Sir Henry Clinton are unsatisfactory to the military critic as an explanation of his fatal stay in New York while Cornwallis was in trouble; but the voluminous contributions of Earl Cornwallis to the history of the Yorktown Campaign, disastrous for him and his country, altogether prove him a wise and a brave man, but another victim of Germain's incapacity. His career in India at a later period also confirms this.

John Wesley desired to assist his king and wrote 'A Calm Address,' with the result that some very severe rejoinders were made to it. One of these, 'An Old Fox tarred and feathered,' by A. M. Toplady, deserves particular mention, as it shows the bitterness with which disputes were carried on at that time. Toplady, the author of that saintly hymn, 'Rock of Ages,' begins thus: "I will liken

him [John Wesley] unto a low and puny tadpole in Divinity," and continues with similar abuse. The pamphlets in the Library written against Wesley or in defence of his 'Calm Address' number not less than twenty.

For reprints of many of the important controversial contributions mentioned in this chapter, we turn to the 'Remembrancer,' of which the Library has a complete set. It is one of the chief and most reliable sources of information on the Revolution. John Almon, the publisher, stated that his plan was "To select from all the public prints, the best account of every material public event." He did this, with the assistance of Thomas Pownall, so well, that the nineteen volumes making a complete set are a mine of information containing most, if not all, the authentic papers, whether published in England or in America, by direction of the British Ministry or of the American Congress. The 'Remembrancer' itself appeared from 1775 to 1784 in seventeen volumes. The volume of the so-called 'Prior Documents,' printed in 1777, was intended to precede the first volume of the 'Remembrancer,' and contains authentic papers on the questions in dispute from 1764 to April 19, 1775. The nineteenth volume, published in 1778, contains the 'Journal of Congress' for 1775-76.

The formal declaration of war by England against France, after the latter's open alliance with the American colonies, caused the writing of many

French books on this subject. The Library has a good collection of these books and pamphlets, sufficient for a proper understanding of the French viewpoint. Only one important work will be mentioned: 'Lettres historiques, politiques et critiques sur les évènements qui se sont passés depuis 1778 jusqu'à présent,' Londres, 1788-94, in seventeen volumes. The work of Henri Doniol: 'Histoire de la participation de la France à l'établissement des États-Unis d'Amérique,' Paris, 1886-92, five volumes, is a comprehensive compilation of source material to the time of the preliminary articles of peace in 1782.

Upon the declaration of war by Holland against England many books and pamphlets were written, setting forth the grievances of the Dutch on account of the maritime policy of the British. For a study of this phase of the situation, the Library has upon its shelves some five hundred pamphlets and books of contemporary printing, in the Dutch language.

The manuscript material in the Library is extensive and important. Before the acquisition of the Shelburne Papers, there were several fragmentary lots that are interesting in themselves and sufficient to verify certain events treated in the printed material. Among these was a somewhat extensive collection of the letters of Charles Townshend, who until his death in 1767 held important political

positions. These letters are personal and political, as are also the later letters of Thomas Townshend, Viscount Sydney, who toward the end of the Revolution held various state offices. Many of these passed between Lord Shelburne and himself.

The manuscripts of Benjamin Franklin, scientific, literary, and political, are so numerous and widespread in location that we have no accurate summary of them. The Library has, in the Shelburne Papers, some of his political writings dated from France. His friendship for and confidence in Joseph Galloway are shown in a series of twenty-one lengthy letters written from London during the preliminary period of violent discussion, 1763-74. Soon after writing the last letter in this series, Franklin departed for Paris, and Galloway in 1776 sought refuge within the British lines. These letters were secured for the Library in 1920, and seem to have escaped the compilers Bigelow and Smyth in their surveys of Franklin's correspondence.

Probably the most extensive collection of manuscript material in the United States written from the English point of view, is the Shelburne Papers which I acquired in 1920. The number of volumes in this lot is about two hundred and twenty. By far the greater part refer to colonial affairs and a considerable portion to the Revolution. No accurate calendar of the contents has as yet been made. Lord Fitzmaurice states that in 1872, when the manuscripts were at Lansdowne House, he com-

menced a report for the English Historical Manuscripts Commission, which later appeared in the Commission's Third, Fifth, and Sixth reports.

In the admirable and comprehensive 'Life of Lord Shelburne,' by Lord Fitzmaurice, of which a new and revised edition in two volumes appeared in 1912, many of these papers were used. Shelburne's political career began in 1761, and for a period of over twenty years he held many high offices of state. Under Grenville he was President of the Board of Trade and Plantations; Secretary of State under Pitt, in 1766-67; in the second Rockingham ministry, Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Upon Rockingham's death, he formed his own cabinet in 1782.

The Shelburne, or Lansdowne, manuscripts are a mixture of original letters, reports, documents, treaties, and synopses of Shelburne's speeches, with copies of important letters relating to the above; also abstracts and original reports from the colonial governors sent to him as President of the Board of Trade. The transcriptions, evidently from public records, go back in the history of the colonies to the seventeenth century, and were probably made for investigating trade and economic relations. Reports on Indian affairs throughout the colonies are included in several volumes, numbering probably two thousand pages. Among them are reports from Sir William Johnson and his deputies.

Papers relative to Canada occupy several volumes, with many letters from Sir Guy Carleton,

then acting Governor. Future plans for Canada are considered, and the papers reflect conditions then existing. Two ponderous volumes of twelve hundred pages labelled 'Assiento Papers' offer a field for study and investigation of the early slave trade in America.

The section, however, of most interest to the student of the Revolution is the 'Treaty Papers,' nearly all of which are original letters leading up to the peace negotiations and the treaty, written during 1782 and 1783. The correspondence between Lord Shelburne and Richard Oswald, the English representative, who was an intermediary between the British Ministry and Franklin, Jay, and Adams, the colonial representatives in Paris, occupies some four volumes. The many letters of Alleyne Fitzherbert, acting in a similar capacity to Oswald, are elucidating. These, with the replies from Franklin and Laurens, together with other addresses written by Franklin for the Commissioners, will always remain interesting and important materials for American history. As promptly as possible a calendar of these papers will be made and published by the Library.

Much about Lord Shelburne might be written here. These letters of his seem to bring him back in person, and it will be found in the future that the placing of them at the University of Michigan will surely lead to the discovery of new facts, new links between the printed pamphlets of the time, and new

deductions and interpretations about events from 1760 to 1783. To the writer a new and great interest has been created in Lord Shelburne through the possession and examination of these manuscripts, and through Lord Fitzmaurice's 'Life of Lord Shelburne.'

No mention need be made here in detail of the many general histories of the Revolution, written during and immediately following the war. Of value for their confirmation of facts, these were mostly written with strong partisan feeling. The Library has many of them. In general they record chiefly military phases of the war. Allied with them for an accurate and detailed history of the military and naval operations, there has been secured for the Library the Henry Stevens Collection of Maps, nearly all published by Faden, the successor of Jefferys, the early English map-maker. This collection, added to what was already in the Library, makes available for examination not less than one hundred and sixty maps of battles on land and sea, and of the various movements of troops during the many campaigns. Included in the above are nine states of the famous Mitchell Map, dated from 1755 to 1774. This map was used in 1783 in determining the boundary lines, over which so many disputes occurred later. In connection with these later disputes, the Library acquired from the heirs of Lord Ashburton the minutes of the sessions

of the British Commissioners held in 1842, in ten volumes "privately printed but not published." No better lot of maps of the Revolution is available in any American library.

The ending of the Revolution brought fresh problems incidental to the formation of a new central government, as well as plans for the government of the individual states. The calling of state conventions for the adoption of new constitutions as a result of the Declaration of Independence, and the proceedings of these conventions, led to the writing of a considerable number of brochures and broadsides, which are important in the history of the individual states. The Library has many of these. The conventions of state delegates, called for the adoption of our national Constitution, were the occasion for the series of able essays by Madison, Hamilton, and Jay, printed in 1788 with the title 'The Federalist.' These, with the debates, form a group of great interest. For this phase of our history, the Library has in its original boards the copy of the first edition of 'The Federalist' which belonged to Robert Livingston, delegate from New York. For the student interested in succeeding editions, there is a collection of forty-eight, in many languages and with many commentators, issued from 1788 to 1890. This collection was the work of James W. Bell, of Brooklyn, a lawyer of prominence.

In concluding this synopsis, the writer realizes his inadequate treatment of the subjects of the several chapter headings. Proper consideration calls for an intensive study of each of these. But our country's history through three centuries is partly told when an exposition is made of her source materials. And when, in the formation of a library and in the enumeration and appraisal of those writers whose work is great and outstanding, a misjudgment is made, then it is the fault of the collector. He may frequently be in error, for his experience has not been that of an historical writer, whose views and conclusions are formed from continued examinations. However, this book is an effort which is subject to all manner of corrections and criticisms. At least a beginning has been made of grouping and sometimes commenting upon books, which may serve a beneficial purpose by inviting further study.

Chapter XVII

NEWSPAPERS AND BROADSIDES

By WILLIAM WARNER BISHOP, Librarian of the General
Library, University of Michigan

THE newspapers in the William L. Clements Library have been gathered mainly from the duplicate collections of the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester and of the Massachusetts Historical Society at Boston. In the summer of 1918 the entire duplicate newspaper collection of the American Antiquarian Society was purchased as a lot and the papers were sorted, collated, briefly catalogued and (in part) bound. A similar (but smaller) purchase was made from the same source in 1921. This consignment remains in the cases awaiting treatment.

In the spring of 1920, the Massachusetts Historical Society's collection of duplicate American newspapers of the eighteenth century was offered for sale, and all the numbers not then in the Library were purchased. Both purchases have been frequently supplemented, as opportunity has arisen to secure individual numbers or entire volumes. In a surprising number of instances, it has been possible to complete defective volumes and sets.

The sources from which the greater part of the newspapers have been received naturally presuppose a dominant representation of New England and Atlantic seaboard newspapers. In fact, the collection is drawn from other sections only in the most casual fashion. For New England, New York, Philadelphia, and Washington the newspaper collections thus gathered and augmented have a very decided value. Massachusetts newspapers naturally are more numerous than those from any other state, and Boston supplies the major part of these.

The eighteenth-century papers form a small but important group. They are somewhat scattered in both origin and continuity before 1780, and are naturally most numerous for the last two decades of the century. One hundred and nineteen different eighteenth-century newspapers are found on the list, but of only a few are fairly long and complete files included. The most complete are the *Boston Evening Post*, with scattering numbers from 1736 to 1764, and much fuller files from 1765 to 1779; the *Columbian Centinel* (rather defective) from 1785 to 1800; the *Boston Gazette*, from 1749 to 1798 (very defective in the earlier and later years, but full from 1765 to 1774); the (New York) *Independent Journal* of 1786 and 1787; the *New York Daily Advertiser*, 1788 and 1789; the *Herald* (New York) from 1795 to 1797; the *Spectator* (New York) from 1797 to 1800; the *Gazette of the United States* (1789-1799), and the *Virginia Gazette* (Williamsburg) 1745-1746.

Continuity and completeness in eighteenth-century newspapers come only with decades of watchful and patient waiting. Economic conditions are well reflected even by scattering numbers, and it is as a revelation of the domestic, business, and political life of the times that a collection even of a much more sporadic character would have value. The second lot from the American Antiquarian Society contains a number of eighteenth-century newspapers as yet uncatalogued, but evidently supplementing the present collection in good measure.

After 1801 the chief interests are two-fold: first the large number of early nineteenth-century papers from New England, and second the long runs from certain localities. Of these last, Providence is by far the most conspicuous, through files of the *Providence Journal*, the *Rhode Island American*, the *Manufacturers' and Farmers' Journal*, the *Providence Evening Press*, the *Morning Star*, the *Rhode Island Press*, the *Columbian Phoenix*, the *Providence Daily Post*, which between them cover most years of the nineteenth century. The eighteenth-century papers printed in Providence are likewise fairly numerous. Concord, N. H., is also quite well covered by various files, while there are numerous volumes from the smaller cities in the state. Portsmouth is also well represented, beginning with a very incomplete file of the *New Hampshire Gazette* consisting of scattered numbers from 1765 to 1799, and less defective volumes to 1825, thence almost

complete until 1848. The *Portsmouth Journal of Literature and Politics* runs with but few gaps from 1822 to 1865, thence with less fullness to 1900.

The newspapers from New York City are naturally of especial interest, but are rather disappointing in number and completeness, only the *Herald*, *Times*, *Tribune*, and *World* being somewhat continuous for many years. There are a number of weekly papers, chiefly those published by various religious bodies, among which the *Christian Inquirer* (1848-1877) and the *Independent* (1851-1897) are the most important. The *Shipping and Commercial Lists* from 1830 to 1854 (with some gaps) is valuable for the history of prices and business. A run of the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, nearly complete from 1849 to 1852 and from 1856 to 1870, and another of the *Voice* from 1886 to 1894 reflect the extreme views of two violent reforming movements. There is a long run of the *Albion* (December, 1827 to December, 1855), a weekly with the sub-title, *British, Colonial and Foreign Weekly Gazette*, surely a singular witness to the persistence of British interest and tradition in the commercial metropolis. The New York newspapers in the collection, however, do not equal the New England papers either in number or completeness.

The Massachusetts newspapers come chiefly from Boston, Newburyport, Salem, and Worcester, with scattering numbers and files from a score of other towns. The principal Boston papers are the *Ameri-*

can Traveller, continued as the *Evening Traveller* (1825-1865); the *Boston Daily Advertiser* (a very complete file from 1814 to 1890); the *Boston Gazette, Commercial and Political* (1801-1821, lacking 1807, and seriously defective in 1814); the *Liberator* (weekly, imperfect in the earlier years, but nearly complete from 1854 to 1865); the *Columbian Centinel* (1801-1830), continuing the eighteenth-century set; the *Boston Recorder* (weekly; 1818-1836). There are numerous short runs of other Boston papers; and a considerable number of religious weeklies, including long sets of the *Congregationalist*, the *Christian Freeman*, the *Christian Leader*, the *Christian Watchman*, *Christian World*, and the *Trumpet and Universalist Magazine*.

The *Newburyport Herald* under various titles and forms, running from 1798 to 1897, gives a long witness to local history and conditions. While by no means all the years are well rounded out, the fortunes of one shipping and industrial town are reflected for nearly a century. For Salem the files of various papers are less continuous and extensive, but still valuable evidence, while the Worcester newspapers cover a long range (1775 to 1880) very imperfectly.

The Philadelphia papers in this Library are chiefly from the last decade of the eighteenth and the first of the nineteenth century. The longest runs are of the *Gazette of the United States* (1789-1814, scattering numbers down to 1833); the

General Advertiser (1790-1800); the *Independent Gazetteer* (1784-1789); the *Pennsylvania Chronicle* (1767-1770); the *Pennsylvania Gazette* (scattering for 1775-1776, 1779, almost complete, 1780 and 1782) the *Pennsylvania Journal* (1773, and scattering numbers to 1791); the *Portfolio* (1801-1805). In addition, there are considerable files (1865-May, 1885) of the weekly *Sunday Dispatch*, the semi-weekly *National Gazette and Literary Register* (1820-1825, and imperfect from 1829 to 1834).

The Washington newspapers are a rather miscellaneous lot, but they include a few important sets, such as the *National Era* (weekly, 1847-1860); the *National Intelligencer* (tri-weekly, rather imperfect, 1801-1865; daily, likewise imperfect, 1816-1866, containing many complete volumes); the tri-weekly *National Journal* (1824-1831); and a very imperfect set of the daily issue of the same paper from 1825 to 1830.

It is a noteworthy fact that practically the whole collection falls in the period before wood-pulp paper came into common use by newspaper publishers. As a consequence the papers are likely to be durable and worth every effort for their preservation and for completing files. If the note of their present incompleteness seems too loud, and perhaps unduly stressed, let it be said that no newspaper collection can begin with complete files. As a foundation on which to build, the present collection is most unusual and most valuable. It already affords a reflec-

tion of the life of New England and the Atlantic coast between 1770 and 1870. Steady work on completing files should make it more precious and more indispensable as the years go by.

The British newspapers of the eighteenth century in the Library ought likewise to be mentioned. These are of great value for their bearing on American affairs. They include the *True Briton*, June, 1723 to February, 1723-1724; the *London Chronicle*, 1757-1784, and the *London Gazette* (1750-1784, 1786, 1789). The last two cover the whole period of the French and Indian War and the American Revolution. The *London Gazette* is the British official gazette, in which appears all manner of official news, such as appointments, proclamations, decrees, reports both civil and military, and the like. There are also scattering numbers of other British papers.

The earlier American and British magazines are represented with unusual fullness. Probably the most important American set is the entire *Massachusetts Magazine* (1789-1796), published by the redoubtable Isaiah Thomas, to whose activities as a publisher and historian we owe so much. This is one of two complete sets known, containing all the engraved plates. It is generally regarded as the ablest of the early American magazines. Most of them were short-lived, and the Library contains a very creditable number of them. Among the British magazines of the eighteenth century may

be named a complete set of that pattern of respectability, the *Gentleman's Magazine*, from its beginning in 1731 through the whole of its long career. There is also a complete set of the important *Annual Register*.

The collection of original newspapers has been supplemented by bound photostat copies of some of the earlier and rarer journals. These are the *Boston News Letter* (1704-1754), the *New York Gazette* (1726-1744), the *Newport Mercury* (1758-1776), the *Kentucky Gazette* (1787-1800), and the *Detroit Gazette* (1817-1830). The last two early Western papers were reproduced under the auspices of this Library.

Finally, the "broadside," that eighteenth-century forerunner of the electric sign and the newspaper "scare-head" Extra of to-day, has not been neglected. Thanks to the photostat, a very valuable series of copies of broadsides has been added to a goodly number of originals, making four hundred in all. Broadside frequently have all the quaint charm of chap-books, and again all the sternness of the official placard issued in the king's name and with the weight of royal authority. They run from the merest handbills of goods for sale, horses — or slaves — strayed or stolen, through election notices to proclamations of solemn import to the whole commonwealth. The collection shows, now the latest news, now the latest comic song; again, the dying confessions of a murderer, or the resolutions

of indignant citizens in mass-meeting assembled. Laws were promulgated by the posted broadsides, as were letters from General Washington just received by express, the 'Dying Groans of Levi Ames Executed for Burglary, in October, 1773,' the Act of the General Assembly of Connecticut in 1779 "for ascertaining the quantity of grain, flour and meal in this state . . . for an immediate supply of bread for the army."

The collecting and study of broadsides form one of the fruitful and interesting by-paths of historical investigation. They are, in the nature of things, scarcer than most books and even exceed newspapers in rarity. Only those which escaped posting and the wear of "handing round" have survived. The comparatively small number mentioned above is actually rather large and unusual. It should be noted that the broadside collection affords most important material for the history of journalism.

About a fifth of the collection of broadsides relates to the American Revolution, chiefly on its legal side, though there is much which reflects popular sentiment and which gives the news of the day. The rest are of the most varied nature. The earliest ones arise out of the great struggle between king and Parliament in England, and the latest give the news of naval combats in the War of 1812. By continued use of the photostat the Library may in time possess copies of the greater part of the important American broadsides known.

75673

026.97

C59

Clements, W.L.

The William L. Clements

75673 Z 733 .M624 C5 1923

Clements, William Lawrence,
1861-1934.

The William L. Clements
library of Americana at the

